Starting Points for Combating Hate Speech Online

Three studies about online hate speech and ways to address it.
Gavan Titley, British institute of Human Rights, László Földi

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- –   Dr Gavan Titley
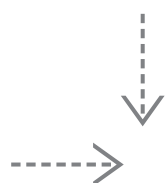- –   British Institute of Human Rights
- –   László Földi

Table of Contents

introduction

Young People Combating Hate Speech Online is a project of the Council of Europe's youth sector to be run between 2012 and 2014. The project aims to combat racism and discrimination in their online expression of hate speech by equipping young people and youth organisations with the competences necessary to recognize and act against such human rights violations. Initiated by the Advisory Council on Youth, and endorsed by the on Youth out from the worrying of rise in hate speech on-line. Central to the project's philosophy is the idea that on-line public space is public space – human rights apply there as much in the rest of society.

The project will mobilise European and national actors through a variety of activities such as training courses, development of educational materials, national seminars and conferences. Central to the project is the European youth media campaign which will be designed and implemented with the agency of young people and youth organisations. This campaign will be declined in national campaigns and initiatives so as to be as close to young people as possible. National activities will federate various actors and organisations so as to make national authorities and actors aware of the need to take action. The campaign will adopt a positive and pro-active message – a campaign for freedom of expression on-line – while having a clear stance against all forms of racism and discrimination on-line. Youth from groups targeted by on-line hate speech – such as refugees and asylum-seekers, Muslims, LGBT and Roma – will play a particular role in the campaign.

While it is relatively pacific among the mainstream social actors to condemn and be against hate speech, including online hate speech, this consensus is quickly shattered once we look deeper into the details, starting with the definition of hate speech itself and the ways to srik,e a balance between freedom of speech, freedom from hatred or fear and the protection of children and young people.

As a preparation for the project, the Council of Europe's Youth Department commissioned these three "mapping" studies about the realities of hate speech and young people and projects and campaigns about it. They are now published together as a resources for the activists, youth leaders, researchers, partners and decision makers associated to the project and the online campaign at national and European level.

They are truly a starting point: all the experts agree that more research is needed, both on the legal and policy implications of hate speech online as on its impact and relation with young people. We expect that more research will be carried out through the project and that the online youth campaign will also contribute to it.

In the meantime, this is what you can find here:

Dr Gavan Titley reflects on the **realities of hate speech today,** how it is being "normalised" and defended through freedom of expression. He goes on further to analyse hate speech online and concludes it a youth work example of fighting racism online through youth work. By questioning hate speech from the perspective of racist discourses, he invites us to see hate speech in a continuum of racist ideologies and how they are permeating our societies.

The British Institute of Human Rights' **mapping study on projects against hate speech online** looks at a number of existing initiatives to address the problem of hate speech online and, drawing from these, offers suggestions for the project implementation. The study is particularly comprehensive about the different forms of online hate speech and of existing initiatives. The recommendations should be particularly useful for defining strategies and approaches to address various forms of hate speech and through a variety of means.

László Földi's study on **online campaigns against hate speech** thought to investigate existing online campaign in order to draw lessons and identify valuable experiences for the European and national partners of the Online media campaign. In fact, despite the fact that the Council of Europe's youth sector, and its governmental and non-governmental partners, have a considerable experience in campaigning, especially through the All Different – All Equal campaigns, the organisation has very little experience in online campaigns. To be able to learn from others is an important condition of success and the study provides interesting hints.

Hate speech Online:
considerations for the proposed campaign

Dr Gavan Titley

introduction

In an exchange with the philosophers Talal Asad and Mahmood Saba, considering the issues raised by what has become known as the Danish Cartoons Controversy, Judith Butler asks: "Is the freedom in free speech the same as the freedom to be protected from violence, or are these two difference valences of freedom? Under what conditions does freedom of speech become freedom to hate?"[1] While the first question is of integral importance to these reflections, the second question is one that is perhaps immediately recognizable to youth workers across Europe. The conditions Butler references have many aspects and dimensions, prime among them the resurgent and multivalent *racisms* that have achieved new forms of legitimacy in European political discourse, and the new, interactive and networked communicative conditions that shape their transmission, translation, and impact.

Young people, who increasingly integrate many forms of social media into their intimate, social and political lives, produce, are exposed to, and combat hate speech online. Further, they do so in a context where *what constitutes hate speech, and what is recognized as racism, are key dimensions of online engagement and discursive interaction*. As John Durham Peters has pointed out, freedom of speech has a recursive character, that is, the specific speech issue at stake quickly leads to broader reflections on the larger principles at stake.[2] While the "limits" of free expression have always been contested, a dominant dimension of the current context is the re-working of racisms through a recursive appeal to freedom of expression. It is this intensely political problem, as much as the range of fora and diversity of targets of "hate speech" across Europe, that makes engaging with this issue so complex.

Writing about young people is a field frequently beset by polarizing stereotypes; angels or devils, "change agents" or layabouts, in need of protection and/or discipline. Considerations of racism are often content to locate it at the political extremes, or in the ignorance of pathological individuals. Thinking about the internet remains overly-structured by either/or ideas of romantic transformation or dystopian collapse. When you combine these three fields of inquiry, there is obvious potential for analysis to regard the issues at hand as located at the margins of European democracy. However hate speech online is not marginal, and the edges of this political map are not immediately obvious. The idea of a "normal region" governed by liberal and rights-based politics is an imagined horizon that obscures a more important view.[3] For that reason, this introduction commences with a recommendation; *"hate speech" and shifting modes of racism must be located in the European political mainstream, and approached as much as a "trickle down" phenomena as a "grassroots" expression*.

"Hate speech" is a notoriously difficult concept to define. That difficulty need not deter recognition of how certain forms of racializing political speech have once again become broadly acceptable in mainstream European political discourse. In an interview with the London *Times*, the novelist

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1.   Asad, T, W Brown, J Butler & M Saba (2009) *Is Critique Secular? Blasphemy, Injury and Free Speech*. Townsend Papers in the Humanities. P.128

2.   Durham Peters, J (2005) *Courting the Abyss: Free Speech and the Liberal Tradition*.

3.   Arditi, B (2008) *Politics on the Edges of Liberalism*.

Martin Amis captured the tone of this impeccably mainstream discourse when he conducted a "thought experiment", saying:

> "There's a definite urge – don't you have it? – to say, 'The Muslim community will have to suffer until it gets its house in order.' What sort of suffering? Not letting them travel. Deportation - further down the road. Curtailing of freedoms. Strip-searching people who look like they're from the Middle East or from Pakistan... Discriminatory stuff, until it hurts the whole community and they start getting tough with their children"[4]

Amis has not lacked company in conducting such thought experiments. The former Dutch Minister for Integration, Rita Verdonk, considered introducing a system of "integration badges" to be worn publicly by *allochtonen*.[5] The now-Chairman of the Finnish parliament's Administration committee, Jussi Halla-Aho, blogged that, given the inevitable disposition of male immigrants to rape, he hoped that it would be "Red-Green" women that they raped.[6] Thought experiments are, of course, accompanied by more prosaic practices, such as straightforward insult. The then-Interior Minister of France, Nicolas Sarkozy, openly described the multi-racial youth in the impoverished and repressively policed banlieues of urban France as *racaille* (scum), during the uprisings of 2005. The most high-profile politician in Europe to be charged with "hate speech", Geert Wilders, has regularly referred to the Islamic headscarf as a "head rag", an insult that references the racial slur "ragheads." In so doing, it is not clear what differentiates him from the French philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy, who described the hijab as "an invitation to rape"; or his fellow *nouveau philosophe*, Andre Glucksmann, who described it as a "terrorist operation"; or the Lutheran priest Søren Krarup, who as an elected representative of the Danish People's Party compared it to a Nazi swastika.[7]

In the aftermath of the politically-motivated murder of Social Democratic youth members on Utoya, in Norway, on July 22nd, there was a palpable retreat from "thought experiments" among journalists, commentators and politicians, particularly when Anders Breivik's *Manifesto* was circulated online. In a *Guardian* investigation mapping the networks and links referenced and discussed in what they termed Breivik's "spider web of hate", the journalist Andrew Brown distinguishes between what he terms the "paranoid fantasists" of the Islamophobic online networks, and unfair attacks on journalists such as Melanie Phillips, who while cited approvingly in the Manifesto, can not be held responsible for the violence.[8] This is to collapse accusations of direct causality into a wider discussion of the creation of a toxic political climate. More to the point, in drawing this distinction, it is not clear how Brown would account for Phillips' consistent dependence on violent and martial language when stereotyping Muslims in Europe. In her mainstream journalism, Phillips has characterized the *émeutes* in Paris in 2005 as "Muslim uprisings against the state"; described a Muslim conference in London in the same year as a gathering of "racist hate-mongers"; described Palestinian political mobilization for self-determination as "Holocaust denial as a national project"; and warned that "thousands of alienated young Muslims, most of them born and bred here but who regard themselves as an army within, are waiting for an opportunity to help destroy the society that sustains them".[9]

Indeed, the aftermath of the attacks in Norway witnessed a curious phenomenon; the widespread assurance that extreme and exaggerated language and imagery concerning the demographic, cultural and religious threat of Islam – and Muslims – to Europe did not actually mean what it said, or, at least, did not intend the urgency with which it was expressed to be mistaken for real urgency (the kind that could result in action). Here is the Irish journalist, Kevin Myers, who models himself

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4. http://artsbeat.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/11/20/eagleton-v-amis-v-islam/

5. See Lentin, A & G Titley (2011) *The Crises of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age*, p. 92.

6. http://www.hs.fi/english/article/What+does+Jussi+Halla-aho+really+want/1135241598200

7. See Lentin, A & G Titley (2011) *The Crises of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age*, p. 92.

8. Brown, A (2011) "Anders Breivik's spider web of hate". Wednesday 7 September, *Guardian, Comment is Free*. http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/sep/07/anders-breivik-hate-manifesto

9. Quoted in *On Utoya*, Sparrow ed (2011)

closely on Phillips and who writes for the daily newspaper with the largest circulation in the country, writing in 2006 during the Danish Cartoons controversy: "As I have said many times, we are at war: a generational, cultural, ethical, political, terrorist and demographic war. Sure we can give ground on the issue of the cartoons of the Prophet by beheading a few Danish cartoonists, thereby giving the Islamicists their Sudetenland."[10] So when is a war not a war, and what theory of speech is required to understand this process of exaggeration and disavowal? This, and other questions must be answered in a context where, according to a study by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in 2011:

> Group-focused enmity is widely disseminated in Europe. It is not a phenomenon of the political margins but an issue at the centre of society. Europeans are conspicuously united in their rejection of immigrants and Muslims. About half of all European respondents said that there were too many immigrants in their country and that jobs should be given to non-immigrants in their country first in a time of crisis. About half condemned Islam as a religion of intolerance.[11]

If the fusion of the "war on terror" with the anti-Muslim racism that began to noticeably emerge in Europe in the 1990s has provided a particular kind of licence for "exaggerated" speech, it should not distract from the continued presence of more "traditional" forms of racist speech in the political mainstream. It is also a challenge to take account of the different forms and targets of racism across the national contexts of the Council of Europe, and to pay attention to how digital communications allows them to feed off and borrow from each other. The Human Rights Commissioner of the Council, Thomas Hammarberg, has issued several warnings in 2011-12 about "anti-Roma hate speech" by politicians in Italy, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Also in Italy, in 2009 the Northern League named a December police operation – aimed at checking the residence paperwork of non-EU residents in the town of Coccaglio – as "White Christmas". And the examples could continue, but the point is made: openly racist speech is not a marginal phenomena of concern to young people in online discussions. It is central to, and a central focus of struggle, in mainstream political life in Europe.

It is worth noting this for another reason – when it comes to questions of speech, of defining the content, intent and nature of speech, such operations come up against the unstable and shifting nature of language. In particular, racist discourse - precisely because racism seeks spaces and opportunities for confirmation and legitimation – is shifting and strategic, capable of absorbing and re-coding references, political ideas, statements of value, and in particular, those ideas that are placed in opposition to it.

There is no doubt that the internet and digital communications, in extending capacities and opportunities for communication and participation, have extended the capacities and possibilities for hate speech, racial and bigoted harassment, "wedge issue" strategies and political recruitment, and the general circulation and insinuation of racist ideas into more and more fora. While "hate speech" is frequently associated with inflamed emotions and rhetoric, racist strategies online are heavily dependent on strategies that emphasise the provision of alternative information, facticity, and counter public spheres. Thus confronting "hate speech" and racism online demands mapping and analyzing the various discourses and strategies that young people engage in, are targeted by, experience and confront, and developing reflected practices and messages in turn.

A key dimension of this will be working through the relationship between "hate speech" and the arguments for control, "censorship" and legal remedy, and the arguments for "freedom of speech", but also between what is held to constitute hate speech, and the wider dissemination of racism online. Further, how do strategies of identifying and confronting "hate speech" sit with the values and practices of youth work? How will a campaign provide a sufficiently unitary and unifying message, while recognizing that ethical and political debates over the nature of speech and its relationship to liberty and democratic life will never be fixed?

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10. Kevin Myers, "An Irishman's Diary", *The Irish Times*, Friday February 10 2006
11. Zick, A. B. Küpper & A Hövermann (2011) *Intolerance, Prejudice and Discrimination: A European Report*.

Hate speech: a contested concept

2.1 Reading definitions

It is worth considering a range of definitions of hate speech, but not, as is often expected of definitions, to provide a fixed meaning that in turn provides a basis for subsequent action. "Hate speech" is an irreducibly complex and contested idea, weighted against competing rights in different ways in different legal traditions and jurisdictions; dependent on different understandings of speech and its potential consequences; framed by varying and conflicting assessments as to what constitutes "hate"; linked to particular identities that are the subjects of speech, as well as to particular speakers and "viewpoints"; and politically deployed as a strategy in a variety of ways, many of them deeply contradictory.

The absence of a consensus on what constitutes "hate speech", and the differences that are thus manifest in legal and regulatory approaches in different countries, prompts Kenan Malik, for example, to argue that it is "not a particularly useful concept…in a sense hate speech restriction has become a means not only of addressing specific issues about intimidation and incitement but of enforcing general social regulation".[12] As against this, the philosopher Stanley Fish contends that it is a category error to work from an assumption that concepts concerning speech in actual political contexts can be governed by abstract, philosophical first principles, *outside of social regulation*, political argument and struggle, as there is "no such thing as a public forum purged of ideological pressures of exclusion".[13]

What different definitions thus provide, when explicitly related to the different historical, socio-political and disciplinary contexts that they are drawn from, is an *anatomy of hate speech*. That is, the range of types of speech, potential consequences, and targeted subjects that generally feature in these debates. The first section of this chapter discusses a range of definitions, drawn from national legislation in Europe, and from academic studies. The second section summarizes and discusses the main dimensions of the European Court of Human Right's thinking on "hate speech", as reported in the *Manual on Hate Speech*.[14] The following section relates the concept of "hate speech" to key discussions about the foundational importance of free speech and freedom of expression in democratic societies, and the final section examines some of the ways in which "freedom of speech" has become claimed as a defence in racist discourse.

2.2 Defining hate speech

In general, definitions of hate speech make reference to a number of he following components: the *content* of speech; the (written or oral) *tone* of speech; an evaluation of the *nature* of that speech; the (individual and collective) *targets* of that speech; and the potential *consequences* or

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12. "Hate speech and the law". Interview with Kenan Malik by Peter Molnar, in *Regulating Hate Speech: Content, Context and Remedies*. CUP (2012)

13. Fish, S (1994) *There's No Such Thing as Free Speech…and it's a good thing, too*. Oxford University Press, p.116

14. Weber, A (2009).

implications of the speech act. Raphael Cohen-Amalgor, for example, offers an extensive definition in the following terms:

> Hate speech is defined as bias-motivated, hostile, malicious speech aimed at a person or a group of people because of some of their actual or perceived innate characteristics. It expresses discriminatory, intimidating, disapproving, antagonistic, and/or prejudicial attitudes towards those characteristics, which include gender, race, religion, ethnicity, color, national origin, disability or sexual orientation. Hate speech is intended to injure, dehumanize, harass, intimidate, debase, degrade and victimize the targeted groups, and to foment insensitivity and brutality against them.[15]

The very extensiveness of this definition raises a series of questions that recur in discussions as to the nature and scope of hate speech. The first pertains to the spectrum of "innate characteristics" that may become the target of hate speech, or, *who is the object of hate, and why?*

Cohen-Amalgor's definition takes on the full range of dimensions that are now associated with "diversity politics", and that provide for a richer sense both of human experience – in how identities are formed through multiple forms of identification, and social ascription – and of vectors of discrimination that may reinforce each other. However, in practice, legal definitions of hate speech tend to place questions of race and ethnic origin, and religion and philosophical belief in the foreground, with increasing attention being paid to sexuality, but relatively little being paid to gender, or "disability". Cohen-Amalgor quotes a variety of definitions from the northern European countries, and given their historical commitment – in legislation and social provision – to gender equality, it is worth noting its general absence from these formulations:

> For instance, Denmark defines hate speech as publicly making statements that threaten, ridicule, or hold in contempt a group due to race, skin color, national or ethnic origin, faith, or sexual orientation (Danish Penal Code, *Straffeloven,* section 266 B). The Dutch Penal Code, Article 137c, holds: "He who publicly, orally, in writing or graphically, intentionally expresses himself insultingly regarding a group of people because of their race, their religion or their life philosophy, their heterosexual or homosexual orientation or their physical, psychological or mental disability, shall be punished by imprisonment of no more than a year or a monetary penalty of the third category." In Iceland, Article 233 of the Penal Code states: "Anyone who in a ridiculing, slanderous, insulting, threatening or any other manner publicly assaults a person or a group of people on the basis of their nationality, skin colour, race, religion or sexual orientation, shall be fined or jailed for up to 2 years." Norway prohibits hate speech, defined as "publicly making statements that threaten or ridicule someone or that incite hatred, persecution or contempt for someone due to their skin colour, ethnic origin, homosexual life style or orientation or, religion or philosophy of life" (Norwegian Penal Code, *Straffeloven,* section 135a). Sweden prohibits hate speech, and defines it as "publicly making statements that threaten or express disrespect for an ethnic group or similar group regarding their race, skin colour, national or ethnic origin, faith or sexual orientation" (Swedish Penal Code, Brottsbalken, Chapter 16, section 8).

In these specific cases, it is likely that the relative absence of gender, understood in relation to equality between men and women, is a consequence of clear legislative provisions under anti-discrimination legislation. However this does not account for the absence of gender identities that cannot be reduced to questions of "sexual orientation", such as trans-identities, and this requires more research and consultation within the framework of this project. More broadly, there is an ongoing discussion as to whether the absence of gender from hate speech definitions serves to underplay the seriousness of sexist abuse. As Donna L. Lilian argues, while the binary categories of "men" and "women" flatten out and discipline people's sexual and gendered identities, social life and political discourse primarily functions in terms of these "monolithic, self-evident categories".

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15. (2011) "Fighting Hate and Bigotry on the Internet, *Policy and Internet*, Vol. 3(3).

In these terms, sexist speech can be framed as hate speech, as it functions to denigrate women as a group, in the service, ultimately, of patriarchal subjugation. Therefore,

> …no matter how…unsophisticated it may seem to talk simplistically about "women" and "men", the world we live in is still organized around those categories. Moreover, it is organized in such a way that "women" as a class are subordinate to "men" as a class, and it systemically discriminates against women. Politically, we must act "as if" there were a category "women" because our societies act as if there were and in doing so, they bring that category, functionally, into being. As long as this is so, we must not abandon… the project of recognizing, naming, analyzing and combating sexist hate speech.[16]

As Lillian notes, one reason that "women" are exempted from definitions of hate speech, including in feminist studies, is that while hate speech focused on "race" and ethnicity is uttered in an historical context where the ultimate goal of such speech may be the violent subjugation or elimination of these groups, the same cannot be said of "women" as a category in societies primarily organized and reproduced through heterosexual couples, and who are not numerically a minority in society. This, however, does not account for the ways in which women, when constructed according to "innate characteristics" within moralizing, patriarchal frameworks, can be framed as targets of sexually violent speech – for example, women who are "asking for rape" because of an assessment of their appearance, behavior, "morals", and so forth. Or, if we recall the series of analogous descriptions of the headscarf referenced in the introduction, how the delegitimation of a woman through her religious identity serves as a licence for sexist speech (the veil as an "invitation to rape).

Lillian further notes that the widespread assumption that gender equality has been substantively achieved, and that "real" sexism has become overcome, leaving nothing much more than the ironic residue of sexism in popular culture, may account for the reluctance to discuss sexist speech in terms of hate speech. A broadly similar argument is made in relation to the politics of class in Britain by Owen Jones, in his book *Chavs: The Demonisation of the Working Class*. Jones' thesis demonstrates how the retreat and defeat of class-based politics, and the social and political changes wrought by de-industrialisation and neoliberal economics, have provided a licence for an onslaught of class-based mockery, stereotyping and victimization.[17] Without the political and communicative counter-power provided, for several decades in the post-war period, by strong trade unions and a Labour movement, class bigotry in the media, and a political discourse insisting that any failure in a "meritocracy" is as a result of individual moral failings, have rendered poverty an acceptable target of ridicule and mockery. As with sexism, this cultural development is justified by recourse to ideas of a classless, or primarily middle-class society, where the poor are to blame for their own poverty, as they have not taken advantage of the opportunities provided for them.

Jones does not argue that this constitutes "hate speech", but what is of interest here is how the power structures of class and gender are marginal in discussions of hate speech. This is primarily because "women" and the "working class" are not seen as numerical minorities or under threat of being expunged from the nation-state, but also because questions of gender and class are widely regarded as having been "solved", and thus, given their relative increase in power in society, "women" and "the working class" are not vulnerable to hate speech. What this in turn alerts us to is one of the prime lines of struggle concerning hate speech in relation to ethnic and racial minorities: if being "vulnerable" to hate speech is related to relative power in society, then one of the most consistent tactics deployed to deny the utility of hate speech as a political idea is to deny the actuality or significance of power differentials in society. This is both a normative debate - as to whether equal respect for individuals requires differential treatment, in the long-running "multicultural" vs "liberal" argument - and also a political strategy, whereby the political claims made by minorities are represented as an imposition of the powerless majority, and thus as

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16.   Lillian, D. L. (2007) "A thorn by any other name: sexist discourse as hate speech", *Discourse and Society* Vol. 18 (6) p. 738.

17.   Jones, O. (2011) *Chavs: The Demonisation of the Working Class*. London: Verso.

constituting "special treatment" and "reverse discrimination/racism." This is discussed at several points throughout this study.

The reasons why hate speech directed at people on the basis of race and/or ethnicity is emphasized in Europe needs no special introduction in the context of a Council of Europe project. The trace of European history is obvious in the prohibition of certain forms of speech in several European countries, primarily "Holocaust denial" but also the use of proscribed symbols. More generally, the focus on hate speech against ethnic and racial minorities must be situated historically, where hate speech is regarded as perpetuating historically-generated relations of oppression and inequality, but also where hate speech has the potential to incite or inflame analogous violence against people on the basis of their real or perceived background. On the one hand, this argument assumes a relation between speech and action that is the subject of endless controversy; is speech not just speech, and those who may act on it solely responsible for their actions? Or can hate speech be regarded as having a propagandistic dimension, providing justification for discrimination and ultimately a perceived legitimation for violence? Alexander Tsesis[18] makes this point in his study of what he terms "destructive messages" when he defines hate speech as "...antisocial oratory that is intended to incite persecution against people because of their race, color, religion, ethnic group, or nationality, and has a substantial likelihood of causing . . . harm."

If definitions generally specify race and ethnicity as defining features of people who may be subject to hate speech, there is no consensus on the implications of this foundational move. Firstly, this involves identifying "groups" in a context where group identities are increasingly subject to "internal" and "external" critique and relativization, and where state's recognition of group identities, and what this implies for provision and protection, vary significantly. Nevertheless, if hate is directed on the basis of attribution and stereotyping, it must also be combatted on those terms. Focusing on questions of race and ethnicity involves a double recognition; of the perduring impact of historical oppression and inequality, and of the lessons of that history for combating current and future discrimination and violence. However, in matters of history, as of language, this assessment is a subject of constant controversy and contestation, particularly in relation to racism.

One of the more influential definitions of hate speech, in the US critical tradition, is provided by Mari Matsuda, who argues that hate speech has a message of racial inferiority, that this message is directed against "a member of a historically oppressed group", and that this message is "persecutory, hateful and degrading".[19] This form of definition has two significant implications. The first is that racism must be approached as an historical structure that involves legacies of power, inequality and oppression that have significant implications for the present, while recognizing that racism is mutable in form, and shifting in its expression. However, few areas of political analysis are as complex and contested as the question as to *what is recognized as racism* in European societies. As Howard Winant argues, "The global racial situation...is fluid, contradictory, contentious. No longer unabashedly white supremacist, for the most part the world is, so to speak, abashedly white supremacist. The conflicts generated by the powerful movements for racial justice that succeeded World War 11 have been contained but not resolved".[20]

The shift that Winant describes is multivalent. Racism is regarded as a political evil, but one primarily associated with historical movements and contexts that have been overcome. The close historical association of racism with skin colour, and with the spurious biologism of eugenicist movements and the Nazi era, culminating in the Holocaust; with the transatlantic slave trade, plantation and Jim Crow segregation; and with with apartheid South Africa fixes racism as a historical aberration that has been overcome, and that where it continues to exist, it does so in extremist movements and ignorant pronouncements that make some form of explicit reference to this repudiated past. Given this collective sense of overcoming, and the close association of racism with the margins and

18. Tsesis, A (2002) *Destructive Messages: How Hate Speech Paves the Way for Harmful Social Movements*. NYU Press, p. 211
19. Matsuda (1993: 36)
20. Winant, H (2005) *The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, Justice*. P. xv.

extremes, discussing racism in the present, and in particular, insisting that it still has a systemic character, is held to offer an unfair insult to European *amour-propre*. For this reason, as Winant continues:

> Nationally, governments that have enacted antidiscrimination laws (no matter that these are usually no match for the institutionalized racism they claim to redress, even in postapartheid South Africa, the most promising case), that have legalized large numbers of immigrants (no matter that millions more still risk their lives to migrate and remain relegated to extralegal status) are far more difficult targets for protest than were their intransigent predecessors. (however it is not difficult to see that) political systems will continue to be organized racially. Race will persist in playing its traditional role of stigmatizing signifier: the dangers and threats of disorder, criminality and subversion will be regularly located by politicians and pundits as emanating from ghettos and barrios, the Parisian *banlieues*, and the (disparagingly named) "casbahs" of Frankfurt and Dusseldorf. But at the same time the route to "success" and "participation" will be held open for those whose docility, or whose "moderate" and tempered criticism, reinforces the system, which after all continues to need both racially "different" workers to do its dirty work, and racially "different administrators and politicians who maintain some credibility at a mass level. Thus passeth the racial system of the global North and West".

In this context, the implications of Winant's assessment of the continuance of racial systems is to draw attention to the fact that how racism is understood and defined has significant consequences for the political opposition to it, and this is a recurring problem for campaigns organized to oppose racism "in all its forms". A more immediate implication of Winant's trenchant analysis, and Matsuda's definition, is that members of ethnic and racial majorities cannot be targets of hate speech from minorities, as hate speech involves the putative power to enact oppression. This point will be taken up in a later section.

To further complicate this picture, the intersection between "race" and other dimensions of the targets of hate speech requires consideration. In particular, the intersection of religion with questions of 'race', or more accurately, *racialization,* needs to be broached. Particularly in a context where Islam, and the presence of people who are Muslim, is a source of endless discussion and tension in European societies, the protection of religion in hate speech definitions is hotly contested.

Over the last decade, several high-profile prosecutions have been brought, through civil and criminal law, for varieties of hate speech of singling out religious identities for insult. On most occasions, these cases have been decided on how, and to what extent, a differentiation is made between targeting a belief, and a belief system, and the adherent of that belief, or associated with that belief. Some examples help to develop the distinctions. In France, in 2002, the novelist Michel Houellebecq was cleared of offering either a racial insult to Muslims, or of inciting religious hatred, for describing Islam as 'the stupidest religion'. In contrast, Brigitte Bardot was convicted for inciting hatred for describing Muslims in France as a population that 'destroys our country'. This distinction supports the argument that religion, as a belief system, should be no more exempt from criticism, including scorn and ridicule, than any secular set of beliefs, such as Marxism, or Liberalism. However, as Sindre Bangstad has argued, this argument depends on an assumption that 'the distinction between speech directed against religion or belief of any sort and speech directed at individuals professing a particular religion or belief is easily identifiable'.[21]

In the case of Geert Wilders, for example, this distinction is not so easily made. Between 2009-2011, Wilders was charged, under Dutch anti-hate speech laws, with 'giving religious offence to Muslims and inciting hatred and discrimination against Muslims and people of non-Western immigrant origin, particularly Moroccans', before being ultimately cleared through a judgment that noted that his speech was legitimate, if extreme political speech. However, Wilders, who professes that he has no problem with Muslims, just with Islam, denies that Islam can be regarded as anything but a radical and radicalizing ideology, and that Dutch society must take measures to protect itself

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21. 'Fighting words that are not fought' *The Immanent Frame* 14 June 2011 http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2011/06/14/fighting-words/

against Islamicization, on all fronts. In this scenario, where people are identified and identify as having a relationship with Islam, and where particular symbols signify that relationship, how is the line between identity and belief policed?

What this 'line' approach does not take into account is the ways in which religious affiliation allows for the *racialization* of particular populations, and how this shifting mode of racialization both attests to Winant's emphasis on the "fluid and contentious" nature of contemporary racial understandings. For as David Theo Goldberg argues, the "idea of the Muslim" is a racial idea:

> The Muslim in Europe – not individual Muslims, not even Muslim communities, but *the idea* of the Muslim himself – has come to represent the threat of death…The Muslim image in contemporary Europe is overwhelmingly one of fanaticism, fundamentalism, female (women and girls') suppression, subjugation and repression. The Muslim in this view foments conflict… He is a traditionalist, premodern, in the tradition of racial historicism difficult if not impossible to modernize, at least without ceasing to be "the Muslim"'[22] (2009: 165-6)

Thus forms of speech that attack beliefs may also be intended to single out a particular population, or they may not, but may nevertheless signify in a context where attacking religion performs the same racializing function as attacks on the physical signifiers of race and ethnicity. Speech is not pure, nor meaning governed by intention, and for this reason, the "line" between an attack on religion, and on its adherents, is currently the most contested and complex dilemma for questions of hate speech. In Denmark, for example, the case of Lars Hedegaard, who gave an interview to the blog snaphanen.dk, has hinged on the intent of his comments, and whether he knew they would be made public or not (as having been made public, the chances of avoiding them decrease, and as we shall see, the idea of offence hinges not just on the content of speech, but on its relative avoidability). According to Hedegaard, "When a Muslim man rapes a woman, it is his right to do it… girls in Muslim families are raped by their uncles, their cousins, or their fathers…" and "whenever it is prudent for a Muslim to hide his true intentions by lying or making a false oath in his own or Islam's service, then it is ok to do it".[23]

Unsurprisingly, Hedegaard and his defenders argued that his comments were not intended to refer to all Muslims, and were about the influence of Islam'. Here it is useful to return to Goldberg, who argues that: "Europe begins to exemplify what happens when no category is available to name a set of experiences that are linked in their production, or at least inflection, historically and symbolically, experientially and politically, to racial arrangements and engagements."[24] In a campaign of this nature, significant work will need to be done on working through the contemporary tension between being seen to unfairly exempt religious views and convictions from criticism on the basis of respect for the sacred, and the ways in which the criticism of religion has become a powerful and malleable vehicle for re-working and re-coding racisms. Some of these questions, and open discussions concerning the question of intention, and the putative "harm" and "offense" of hate speech, will be returned to in a later section. The next section focuses down on some of the issues raised here by discussing the Council of Europe's definitions and instruments in this arena.

The Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights approach to hate speech

"Freedom of speech" is often opposed to "hate speech", where freedom of speech is understood as a zero-sum game – it either exists or doesn't, is extended to all, or none – and where freedom of speech is presented as the foundational democratic right from which all others emerge, and on which all others ultimately depend. The dilemma this presents is that approaches that treat free speech as sacrosanct must then provide a defence for specific examples of hate speech. One negative implication of this is that, as Lynn Mills Eckert argues, "free speech doctrine (may) confuse

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22. Goldberg, D.T. (2009) The Threat of Race, pp. 165-6

23. Quoted in Institute of Race Relations, *European Race Audit, Briefing Paper No. 5* September 2011.

24. ibid, p. 154

the need to protect dissident speech with an ineluctable obligation to protect hate speech".[25] The CoE's Manual on Hate Speech, which lays out the interpretations and understandings of the European Court of Human Rights, addresses this tension by framing the opposition between freedom of speech and hate speech in terms of conflicting rights and obligations. As the introduction states:

> In multicultural societies, which are characterised by a variety of cultures, religions and lifestyles, it is sometimes necessary to reconcile the right to freedom of expression with other rights, such as the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion or the right to be free from discrimination. This reconciliation can become a source of problems, because these rights are all fundamental elements of a "democratic society".

Thus, while freedom of expression is enshrined in Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), the external manifestation of expression does not enjoy the absolute rights enjoyed by the internal (freedom of thought). The reason for this is that the exercise of freedom carries also with it duties to the rights of others. This vision of interlocking and conflicting rights is acute in the context of "combating racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations". As a consequence, the Court has held that

...that tolerance and respect for the equal dignity of all human beings constitute the foundations of a democratic, pluralistic society. That being so, as a matter of principle it may be considered necessary in certain democratic societies to sanction or even pre- vent all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify hatred based on intolerance (including religious intolerance), provided that any "formalities", "conditions", "restrictions" or "penalties" imposed are proportionate to the legitimate aim pursued.

Even when an analysis based on conflicting rights and interests is accepted, no widely accepted definition of "hate speech" exists. The Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers Recommendation 97(2) defines it as follows:

> ...the term "hate speech" shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti- Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin.

To date, "hate speech" has been interpreted as covering:

- firstly, incitement of racial hatred or in other words, hatred directed against persons or groups of persons on the grounds of belonging to a race;

- secondly, incitement to hatred on religious grounds, to which may be equated incitement to hatred on the basis of a distinction between believers and non-believers;

- and lastly, to use the wording of the Recommendation on "hate speech" of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, incitement to other forms of hatred based on intolerance "expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism".

All of this, of course, tends towards the important question of what constitutes hate speech, or to put it another way, how is hate speech identified?

Some discussion points on "freedom of speech" in relation to "hate speech"

The tension between understandings of the fundamental importance and scope of "freedom of speech", and the injustice and implications of hate speech, can never be satisfactorily resolved, and in the context of a campaign, it would be a mistake to seek to fix a normative position that must

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25.   Lynn Mills Eckert (2011) "A critique of the content and viewpoint neutrality principle in modern free speech doctrine."

be adhered to as the basis for action. Instead, this section offers a series of discussion points that can be further developed in subsequent drafts.

Freedom of speech, and freedom of expression, is a central tenet of the western democratic tradition and narrative of development and progress. As Kenan Malik summarises, "From the Enlightenment onwards, freedom of expression had come to be seen not just as an important liberty, but as the very foundation of liberty. "He who destroys a good book destroys reason itself" as John Milton put it in *Areopagitica*, his famous 'speech for the liberty of unlicenc'd printing'. "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties", he added. All progressive political strands that grew out of the Enlightenment, from liberalism to Marxism, were wedded to the principle of free speech".[26]

Thus freedom of speech is not just a universal right that guarantees freedom for the individual, it is historically related to challenges to arbitrary state authority; to the "enchantment" of religion; to the growth of rationality, science and general progress; and to the conduct of democracy.

In the First Amendment tradition of the USA, but also in this Enlightenment vein, freedom of speech is central to the success of a "marketplace of ideas". That marketplace is a space for robust exchange, exchange that includes offence and ridicule, but these are ultimately a price worth paying for the greater freedom derived from untrammelled free expression, and for the pursuit of truth. If democracy involves increasing the participation of citizens, then it is freedom of speech that underpins that participation, and safeguarding that participation from coercion or suppression. In this understanding, to interfere with free speech is to undermine the very character of democracy. It is also open to the charge of arbitrary authority; on what basis, other than the exercise of power, does somebody get to decide for other rational agents as to what is appropriate for them to engage with? Further, if democracy depends on the participation of citizens in affairs that concern them, and therefore requires an informed citizenry, freedom of expression and the "free flow of information" are fundamental dimensions of meaningful democracy.

In relation to "hate speech", a commitment to the idea of a "market place of ideas" is held to be more and better speech, persuasion, the struggle for the best ideas to win out. The statement of the former US Supreme Court justice, Louis Brandeis, that "sunlight is the best disinfectant" is often used to summarise the opinion that openness and contest is the antidote to hate speech, rather than state intervention or censorship.

It follows from this that tolerance of those opinions one may find objectionable involves a form of civic virtue, the capacity to demonstrate self-restraint, that ultimately strengthens public life and democratic society.

For the state to interfere to suppress hate speech is to invite a "slippery slope" towards greater intervention, ultimately allowing the suppression of, for example, political dissent, and in an unintended irony, minority opinions. Any claim for particular forms of speech to be censored or managed increases the legitimacy and power of the state to abrogate powers to define the limits of acceptable political discourse, with consequences for political freedom.

In a position more associated with critical theory than liberal philosophy, it could be argued that hate speech can be robbed of its power to injure by being contested, confronted, parodied, that is, by refusing the power of the speaker of hate speech to define not only the meanings of words, but the identity of the subject being addressed.

The following arguments can be opposed to the positions outlined above:

There is no such thing as free speech. In practice, all states limit freedom of speech through legislation on, for example, libel, copyright, intellectual property, state security, commercial confidentiality, and so forth. Even more fundamentally, Stanley Fish has argued that "free speech" is an impossible concept. One dimension of his argument may be quiet familiar: social and institutional interactions

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26.   Malik, K (2009) *From Fatwa to Jihad: The Rushdie Affair and its Legacy*, p. 156.

have strong underlying assumptions as to what constitutes appropriate forms of speech and interaction, suggesting that the regulation of free speech is a defining feature of everyday reality. The question that stems from this is not whether people are free to transgress these underlying structures, but whether, in general practice, they do. Further, Fish argues that the idea of "free speech" does not make sense in the context of society and inter-subjective communication:

> "Many discussions of free speech, especially by those whom I would call free speech ideologues, begin by assuming as normative the situation in which speech is offered for its own sake, just for the sake of expression. The idea is that free expression, the ability to open up your mouth and deliver an opinion in a seminar-like atmosphere, is the typical situation and any constraint on free expression is therefore a deviation from that typical or normative situation. I begin by saying that this is empirically false, that the prototypical academic situation in which you utter sentences only to solicit sentences in return with no thought of actions being taken, is in fact anomalous. It is something that occurs only in the academy and for a very small number of people. *Therefore, a theory of free speech which takes such weightless situations as being the centre of the subject* seems to me to go wrong from the first. I begin from the opposite direction. I believe the situation of constraint is the normative one and that the distinctions which are to be made are between differing situations of constraint; rather than a distinction between constraint on the one hand and a condition of no constraint on the other. Another way to put this is to say that, except in a seminar-like situation, when one speaks to another person, it is usually for an instrumental purpose: you are trying to get someone to do something, you are trying to urge an idea and, down the road, a course of action. These are the reasons for which speech exists and it is in that sense that I say that there is no such thing as "free speech", that is, speech that has as its rationale nothing more than its own production." (italics added).[27]

Thus, to complete Fish's line of thought, "free speech" cannot be defended by recourse to a principle of "free speech", as this is a principle that must first be argued for and grounded, particularly in relation to the question as to whether ' it is more in keeping with the values of a democratic society, in which everyone is deemed equal, to allow or prohibit speech that singles out specific individuals and groups as less than equal?' In contrast to Jo Glanville, the editor of *Index on Censorship*, who argues that "the universal right to free speech" should not involve "cutting the cloth of human rights to fit the preoccupations and politics of our time"[28], Fish sees struggles over the nature of speech as always taking place within a the world of politics, and the question that needs to be asked is: "given that it is speech, what does it do, do we want it to be done, and is more gained or lost by moving to curtail it?"[29]

Before addressing the question of "what does it do", arguments that critique the idea of a "marketplace of ideas" must also be acknowledged. What Manuel Castells calls *communication power* is (grossly) unevenly distributed, and thus freedom of expression, beyond physical capabilities, is structured in inequality. To a significant extent, even in the digital era, those inequalities in communication power map onto inequalities in political and cultural power. Thus while the idea of a "marketplace of ideas" provides a seductive rhetoric, as a metaphor it does not take account of hugely different capacities to "trade", and even to be admitted to the trading floor by formal and informal gatekeepers. Thus the power of the market place idea to combat hate speech depends, to a problematic degree, on the willingness of more powerful actors to mobilize against hate speech and racist action. As the introduction makes clear, no such assumption can be made in Europe today.

The "slippery slope" argument does not contend with the fact that, given both the de facto restrictions on free speech, and the map of power and resource inequalities that position people

27. (1998) "Interview with Stanley Fish", with Peter Lowe and Annemarie Jonson, The Australian Humanities Review. http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-February-1998/fish.html

28. http://www.indexoncensorship.org/2009/03/modern-liberty-free-speech-must-be-for-all/

29. op.cit, p. 127.

very differently in society, "we" are already on the slope, and not in danger of descending from a pure starting position. More specifically, there is very little evidence that restrictions on hate speech result in more expansive restrictions on political speech[30] though this needs to be further examined in relation to the some of the "counter-terrorism" measures enacted in the UK and USA, among other places, during the so-called "war on terror".[31]

Approaches to free speech grounded in ideas of absolute individual moral autonomy argue that speech cannot be regarded as an action, in that any violent action taken by another individual on the basis of speech is their responsibility, and not that of the speaker. This position is critiqued from a variety of standpoints that *understand speech as a form of action*, and that supplement or replace a liberal, individualized vision of democracy as constituted through collective processes that require recognition of questions of harm and even offence. In extremis, this means accepting that, contrary to the idea of civic toleration that sees extreme provocation as a opportunity to strengthen democratic values, that, as Chantal Mouffe argues, "democracy cannot treat those who put its basic institutions into question as legitimate adversaries".[32]

In terms of the specific nature of hate speech directed on the basis of race and ethnicity, accepting that histories and structures of racialization and exclusion undermine the myth of a level playing field or "marketplace" of ideas entails accepting that hate speech can compound everyday exclusion and further contribute to a prejudicial atmosphere. While the targets of hate speech can and do resist through speech and democratic action, it is a material and political reality that they can not do so on an equal footing. While some free speech proponents argue that it is patronizing – and even a form of racism – to assume that minorities require group protection, there is no necessary contradiction between the antiracist activism of those who experience racism, and the efforts of institutions to combat speech that compounds racism and discrimination.

A key question in discussions of hate speech is the nature of harm, and how the inflicting of harm is ascertained. This in turn poses the question as to whether evidence of psychological or other forms of harm and injury must be produced before ideas of hate speech can be legitimated. On one level, while no forms of speech cause intrinsic harm, some terms, as Judith Butler argues, have a particular power to injure because they "carry their (socially produced) contexts with them".[33] I will return to assessments of harm and offence in a later draft, including considerations of empirical research. But it is important to note that there is no intrinsic reason – beyond the formulation of certain definitions – that hate speech must be proven to have direct causal effects in order for it to be taken seriously politically, up to and including restriction. For example, the distinguished legal academic Jeremy Waldron argues that:

> ...hate speech regulation can be understood as the protection of a certain sort of precious public good: a visible assurance offered by society to all of its members that they will not be subject to abuse, defamation, humiliation, discrimination, and violence on grounds of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and in some cases sexual orientation. I will not try to make the case that hate speech laws actually reduce discrimination, violence, and so on, or that they make it more likely that hatemongers will give up their bigotry and become good, tolerant citizens. I hope that will happen, and hate speech laws may work as part of a broader campaign for equality and toleration. But I am going to argue that the most important aim of these laws is more immediate. The aim is simply to diminish the presence of visible hatred in society and thus benefit members of vulnerable minorities by protecting the public commitment to their equal standing in society against public denigration.[34]

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30. Bangstad op.cit
31. McGhee, D. (2008) *The End of Multiculturalism? Terrorism, Integration and Human Rights*. Open University Press.
32. (2005) *On the Political*, p. 120. London: Verso.
33. Butler, *Excitable Speech*.
34. Waldorn, J (2009) "Dignity and Defamation: The Visibility of Hate", *Harvard Law Review*. P. 1599-1600.

Freedom of speech as a tactical accomplice of hate speech?

Sindre Bangstad describes efforts to "Europeanize" a vision of the US First Amendment, where "the only legitimate restriction of speech pertains to any utterance functioning as an incitement to "immediate" violence against particular individuals, if and when the listening audience is in fact liable to act upon such speech."[35] As a consequence, any argument made in relation to hate speech can be cast as not just a restriction, but an "attack" on free speech. More and more regularly, "free speech debates" are instigated as a way of creating a legitimate space for racist utterances, and for rejecting criticism of these utterances as a lack of openness or a betrayal of European or Enlightenment values. This tactic also depends on a power inversion: if restrictions are placed on speech - particularly speech that only seeks to "tell the truth" and "break taboos" about the impact of migrants or minorities on society - then this can be held to represent an imposition on the natural functioning of democracy (and the natural honesty of the ordinary people) by political correctness, multiculturalism, or human rights orthodoxies. Ergo, "hate speech" is an elite strategy used to limit and suppress truths that elites do not wish to hear, truths that just so happen to represent the opinions of the put-upon majority, that is now, in fact, the victim of this power inversion.
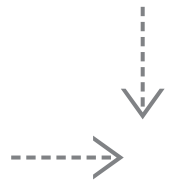
This poses a challenge for human rights education where human rights language is used to justify hate speech, and where young people acting against hate speech can be strategically cast as censors, or as "elites" afraid of open debate.

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35. Bangstad op.cit.

Hate speech online

introduction

There is a widely circulated cartoon, showing a stick-man crouched in concentration over his laptop, while his female stick-companion appears in the background, asking him if he is coming to bed. Without shifting his gaze from the screen, he replies, "I can't! Some one is wrong on the internet!" What the cartoon satirizes, among other things, is the sheer extent of the information produced and circulated online, on a daily basis, and this difficulties this entails for analysis. Perhaps as a result of this, analysis of the internet, and latterly, of social network media and digital technologies, is frequently subject to exaggerated assessments of liberation, or new forms of capture. As Henry Jenkins and Howard Rheingold note, digital technological change, and network expansion, is frequently discussed in *revolutionary terms*:

> The utopian rhetoric predicting an imminent digital revolution is simplistic and often oblivious to complex historical processes (however)…such pervasive talk about revolutionary change implies some fundamental dissatisfaction with the established order. Even if we believe that the concept of a digital revolution is empty rhetoric, we must still explain why a revolution, even a virtual one, has such appeal.[36]

One of the tendencies inherent in this has been to celebrate the democraticizing tendencies of networked participation, and most recently, the ways in which social media provide extensive political tools for civil society and young people to organize protests, campaigns, political action and social projects, and to communicate transnationally, bypassing mainstream media gatekeeping and (some or most) national systems of political control. In his new book, Why It's Kicking Off Everywhere, the BBC journalist Paul Mason provides an interesting synthesis of the political uses of social media platforms, as observed in his coverage of Greece, Tunisia and Egypt over the last two years.

> If you look at the full suite of information tools that were employed to spread the revolutions of 2009–11, it goes like this: Facebook is used to form groups, covert and overt – in order to establish those strong but flexible connections. Twitter is used for real-time organisation and news dissemination, bypassing the cumbersome newsgathering operations of the mainstream media. YouTube and the Twitter-linked photographic sites – Yfrog, Flickr and Twitpic – are used to provide instant evidence of the claims being made. Link-shorteners such as bit.ly are used to disseminate key articles via Twitter.

At the same time, there are several compelling arguments being made not to over-estimate the power and potentials of networked social media. The writer Evgeny Morozov is hugely critical of what he terms the "Google Doctrine"; the idea that the free flow of information (in and of itself a mythic idea) renders established forms of political power meaningless. "Cyber-centrism", he argues, is often substituted for patient political analysis of complex situations. He quotes several examples of this exaggerated tendency:

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36. Henry Jenkins & David Thorburn, *Democracy & New Media* (2004:9)

"You cannot have Rwanda again because information would come out far more quickly about what is actually going on and the public opinion would grow to the point where action would need to be taken", Gordon Brown argued. "This week's events in Iran are a reminder of the way that people are using new technology to come together in new ways to make their views known". On Brown's logic, the millions who poured into the streets of London, New York, Rome and other cities on February 15 2003, to protest the impending onset of the iraq War made one silly mistake: they didn't blog enough about it. *That* would have definitely prevented the bloodbath".[37]

Similarly, the cyber theorist Jodi Dean argues that there is a fundamental problem with the unprecedented expansion in communication and the possibility to communicate – it means that people are relieved of the obligation to listen. Specifically, she argues, the possibility of communication may become celebrated as political participation in and of itself, resulting in what she terms "Democracy that speaks without listening". As a result, there is the endless circulation of "politics as content", but "official politics" proceeds regardless. What Dean terms "communicative abundance" relieves "political actors of the obligation to answer embedded in a message". That is, when we normally consider inter-personal communication, or democratic communication, we assume that a message has a *use value* (it has been sent, received, understood, it is an action oriented towards understanding). However, under conditions of communicative abundance, messages cease to have *use value* and instead have *exchange value*, that is, they contribute to the flow of circulating digital content. [38]

These theoretical perspectives are chosen from among a huge spectrum of options. But what they point to is this: the internet, and social media platforms, have become crucial spaces for political activity, including campaigning. However, the relative ease with which such campaigns can now be circulated and communicated must be tempered by an assessment of how these new capabilities relate to a wider politics, and how a campaign aimed at online hate speech and racism will work to ensure that it has a political use value, and not merely exchange value.

Race and racism online

The utopianism associated with the internet has long been associated with the potentially emancipatory properties of virtual communication. Not only has the internet – despite the deep and persistent digital divides that are structured within societies as well as between nations – democraticized communications relative to the unequal concentrations of communication power represented by the capital-intensive mainstream broadcast and print media, it has changed the nature of communication in time and space. Identities online are fluid, communication and interaction can take place in networks and communities brought together by shared interests, politics and experiences, beyond the material and physical limitations imposed by "embodied living". For this reason, the early days of internet research and general celebration were characterized by optimistic assertions of a "race-free" internet, a space in which the dependence of racialization on the body and on physical markers of difference has been overcome. However, as Jessie Daniels has documented, white supremacist groups in the US were "early adopters" of cyber-strategies, establishing two main forms of hate sites from the mid to late 1990s onwards:

(1) *overt* hate Web sites that target individuals or groups, showcase racist propaganda, or offer online community for white supremacists; and (2) *cloaked* Web sites that intentionally seek to deceive the casual Web user.[39]

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37. Evgeny Morosov, *The Net Delusion*, 2010: 13

38. Dean, J (2009) *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies*

39. Daniels, Jessie. "Race, Civil Rights, and Hate Speech in the Digital Era." *Learning Race and Ethnicity: Youth and Digital Media*. Edited by Anna Everett. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2008. 129–154.

As Meddaugh and Kay argues, also in the context of the US, the internet has proven hugely useful to white supremacist and racist groups, and has to be seen in terms of a significant and worrying increase in such political groupings. They argue that a specific benefit of the Web, apart from the organization of membership sites and enhanced communications, is that it allows for recruitment and targeting of a younger and more heteereogenous political base than before.[40] Two dimensions of this wider "appeal" are important here. Internet networking involves high levels of intertextuality, that is, the ability to move between links, and to integrate different kinds of sites with each other. Further, the extension of authorship that comes with digital diffusion makes it difficult to determine, at least immediately, the credibility or otherwise of different kinds of sites. Thus the inter-linking strategies of hate sites are immanent to internet logic, and as Meddaugh and Kay argue, what makes the circulation of hate sites so pervasive is that "web hate is enabled by the collapse of discourse genres and discursive integration located in a multimedia environment" (so, for example, the "news" has collapsed as a genre online, governed by accepted forms of professional ethics, processes of news production, and signs of "authoritative discourse").

In Europe also, racist groups of various genres have been quick to develop sophisticated web presences, and as several studies have pointed out, "populist" (and quasi-fascist) parties such as the British National Party and the Front National have developed web strategies that position them as sources of counter-knowledge, that is, digital resources where people can get the "truth" and the true news that is not available in the "liberal" mainstream media sphere. [41]

In all of these spheres, a consistent tactic is to position the site as a portal for alternative news, news that is being suppressed for political reasons, and news that inevitably focuses on a range of so-called "wedge issues" – the truth about the costs of immigration; the European Union; Islamicization and the problem of "cultural relativist" tolerance for the "enemy within", and so forth (the next draft will include a thematic survey of the European "Islamophobic" blog networks). This political positioning involves a triangular relationship associated with political populism, whereby "truth-tellers" represent the "ordinary people" in the face of the self-interest of the "corrupt elites". As several studies show, the strategic shifts in racist strategy and outreach centrally involve the ability to summarise and undermine the strategies that are ranged against them. So, for example, in a study of the politics of antiracism and "hate speech" in Hungary, David Boromisza-Habashi analyses how the idea of "hate speech" is marginalized as a foreign imposition, aimed at corrupting the Hungarian language; imposing an "alien political utopia", and employing hateful or "fascist" tactics to combat what they hypocritically see as "hate speech".[42]

Beyond the sites of dedicated hate and extremist groups, far more research is needed on the ways in which the "comment culture" of social media platforms and online discussion fora further and transform the expression of racism. This campaign seeks to intervene at a moment when many people's communicative capabilities have been transformed, and where, as Nick Couldry notes, a central rationale of interactive, social media is an "invitation to discourse" – that is, to engage, comment, link, share and circulate.[43] The "perpetual machine" of comment culture produces exponential growth in content and in opportunities to create content, commenting or interacting on blogs, news sites, communities of interest, Facebook page or individual threads, YouTube threads, Twitter, and so forth. While more attention needs to be paid to people's actual online practice, it is clear, as Geert Lovink points out, that people practice particular forms of reading and interacting,

40. Meddaugh, P.M. & J. Kay (2009) "Hate Speech or Reasonable Racism? The Other in Stormfront". *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 24: 251-268. It should be noted that Daniels, J, op.cit makes the point that membership recruitment depends heavily on physical meetings, social events and interpersonal contact, over periods of time.

41. E.G Bratten, (2005) "Online zealotry: la France du people virtuel;, New Media and Society, vol. 7 (4): 517-532.

42. (2011) "Dismantling the antiracist "hate speech" agenda in Hungary: an ethni-rhetorical analysis". *Text and Talk*, 31-1, pp.1-19.

43. Couldry, Nick: *Media, Society, World* (2012)

as he points out, "We do not care so much what the text precisely says but what the wider ecology is. Instead of close reading, we practice intuitive scanning".[44]

There is very little research on hate speech in commercial social media platforms[45] and next to none examining how the migration of newspapers online, for example, has created new opportunities for comment threads on migration or multiculturalism-related news stories to be linked into racist networks. However Lovink's notion of "intuitive scanning" suggests that certain key words and themes on sites that allow for general interaction act as triggers for hate speech or the rehearsal of certain kinds of arguments about the "problem" of others and their "culture". More research is needed on both organized forms of comment "swarming", where motivated commentators draw on "talking points" documents produced by racist networks to shape what happens in a comment thread, and on "disorganised", individual and opportunistic engagements. In many theoretical approaches online comment and speech is approached as action-at–distance, seen to be cost-free for the instigator, and facilitated by the forms of anonymity or shifting identity made possible by virtual environments. However, given that hate speech and racist-baiting still occurs on sites where people are required to use their Facebook or Twitter log-ins, it is not clear that the licence of anonymity is the central issue when it comes to hate speech.[46]

It is also important to consider the nature of online interaction as text-based interaction and dialogue. The common refrain "don't feed the troll" recognizes that people who engage in hate speech and racist-baiting are looking not only to injure and inflame, but also to get a reaction and to amplify the "issue" they seek to further politically. So, how does a campaign engage in opposing hate speech online without falling into the trap of legitimating and furthering these forms of discourse? This is made more difficult by the capture of certain forms of language by racism online. Racism, as the sociologist Les Back points out, is a "scavenger ideology", borrowing and appropriating ideas, images, themes and arguments to legitimate racist politics as "commonsense", necessary and for the greater good. Very often, racist arguments made in online engagements aim to claim a form of greater legitimacy, and do so through the language of rights and freedom – precisely the language of a human rights education based campaign. In my reading of anti-Muslim racism in newspaper comment threads, I have noted the following legitimation strategies:

- *Righteous resistance to catastrophic change* ("stranger in own land" "identity under attack")

- *Denial of our rights* (to purity, to be left alone, implies strong appropriation of a language of rights, duties, liberty, freedom)

- *Resistance to elite imposition and conspiracy*

- *Extreme speech necessary to address extreme conditions*

- *The real facts need to be provided, beyond political correctness, to the public*

- *Reverse racism and racism as a form of political correctness*

44. *Networks Without a Cause* (2012)

45. The Uk Thinktank Demos has just produced two reports on "digital populism", available here: http://www.demos.co.uk/publications

46. Particularly given the rise of prosecutions for hate speech on social media platforms in Europe, where people have circulated hate speech with readily traceable online identities.

Case study: NoRa — No Racism campaign of the *Pelastakaa Lapset ry*

(Save the Children Foundation) and *Helsingin kaupungin nuorisoasiainkeskus* (Helsinki City Youth Department)

The following case study is primarily based on interviews with Satu Kanninen and Heli Markkula, the project coordinators.

Finland, and in particular the Youth Department of Helsinki City, has a relatively established practice of online youth work. A key dimension of it has involved mirroring the network of youth houses available to youth organisations around the country in virtual space, with youth workers hosting "discussion rooms" and threads on popular sites. Such sites include *Habbo* (previously *Habbo Hotel*), where participants develop a personalized avatar and move from room to room, joining discussions and groups; IRC-Galleria, where users post profiles and take part in discussion threads and chat; and *Demi.fi*, a social networking site aimed at teenage girls. Since the middle of the last decade, youth trainers involved in online youth work had increasingly noted that youth workers were asking them about how to deal with racism online, for example when racist jokes are made in discussion threads, or offensive generalisations about Finnish Somali, of Finnish Roma youth.

During the *All Different All Equal* campaign of 2007-8, online youth workers facilitated a series of themed discussion groups in these settings, and noticed both an increased tendency for young people to discuss their experience of racism in these spaces, but also an increased tendency to various forms of racist expression, from trolling to "flaming" hate speech to an increasingly sophisticated repertoire of anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic arguments and set-pieces. On the basis of a shared experience of this upsurge, a number of organisations, including Allianssi, the Red Cross, the Mannerheim Children's Foundation, the Helsinki Youth Department and Save the Children cooperated with the Office of the Ombudsman for Minorities to apply to the Ministry of Education for a project to investigate and develop strategies for countering hate speech online.

Racism does not materialize suddenly, however 2007-8 is regarded in Finland as a year in which racism, and the prevalence of online racism, began to command concerted attention in the public sphere. In the political arena, the True Finns party (Perussuomalaiset), and particularly the branch of the party which is heavily associated with the far-right organization *Suomen Sisu,* attracted attention for translating the established strategies of anti-Muslim racism into political life in Finland (resulting ultimately in two of their Members of Parliament having been convicted of varieties of hate speech), and intensifying an anti-immigrant politics that many of the centrist parties attempted to coopt or benefit from. The desire to be seen to compete with the True Finns on the "immigration question" during the long build-up to the February 2011 general election prompted Finland's deputy prosecutor-general, Jorma Kaske, to criticize politicians in Finland for "using racist hate speech to appeal to voters".[47] The "immigration sceptic" website Homma Forum, positioning itself

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47. http://helsinkitimes.org/htimes/domestic-news/politics/16210-finlands-kalske-criticises-politicians-for-hate-speech-.html

in the familiar, strategic role of honest talkers oppressed by a politically-correct, multiculturalist consensus, received consistent and arguably disproportionate media coverage.

The development of popular online news sites, and the general tendency of online newspapers and sites to run immigration stories, online polls and discussion threads to encourage high hit-rates provided a fertile online environment for Homma-style arguments and activists to disseminate their ideas. Even the largest and most respected newspaper in the country, Helsingin Sanomat, is not immune from this kind of opportunism, having twice in the last year conducted opinion polls asking "Helsinki parents" if they were in favour of "quotas of migrant children in schools", despite recognizing the clear illegality of any such quota system under Finnish law.[48] Further, Facebook has been used to host a broad variety of hate groups, a tendency that received national attention when a group was set up to make death threats against the former Minister for Migration and European Affairs, Astrid Thors, in 2009-10 (Thors closed her own personal website in 2007, after death threats against her family were made there).[49]

It was in this context of both concerted online racist activity, and concerted public attention, that Satu and Heli commenced their project. The did so by spending six months engaging in regular online discussions, getting to know the basics of online youth work, but also reflecting on random discussions of racism online, and the interactions they experienced in planned discussions (which were advertised a week in advance). The planned discussion groups, they noted, were very popular, and the popularity brings with it one very obvious problem for youth workers who are engaging as youth workers, but also moderating discussions as they progress – how do you do justice to both roles in a fast-moving thread? Further, they quickly encountered a problem that many youth workers had been drawing attention to: given the amount of issues in the media, and the tendency for these to turn up in online discussions as reference points, online youth workers were potentially being asked to intervene in a vast range of topics, issues and stories.

At the same time, they began to discern some patterns and dimensions in the racist activity and utterances encountered in the chat sites they visited. In the IRC Galleria, for example, it was clear from user names – and IP addressed behind shifting user names – that a relatively small network of users were involved in injecting racial content into discussions. A far wider cohort repeated what they had heard, or tested certain attitudes out, or adopted symbols and insignias to their profiles, or joined racist groups, mainly to test the waters, or show off, or without really understanding what they meant. At the same time, they noticed that anti-Islam and anti-Muslim prejudice was both highly prevalent, and also closely related to the kinds of rhetorical moves and circulated ideas that characterize the wider networks of anti-Muslim racists and political speech.

In summary, the main forms of racism they encountered – which mapped onto the experiences of online youth workers who approached them to start conducting training as quickly as possible, such was the perceived need – involved the use of the term *Ryssä* (a pejorative term for Russians); perjorative and racially-loaded terms for black people; anti-Islamism through then lens of *Eurabian* ideas of Islamic take-over and the horrors this will involve for women's rights and Finnish/European culture; and a general anti-immigration, anti-immigrant sentiment through the lens of the need to protect the welfare state from foreign free-loaders, Finnish women from immigrant rapists, and so forth. As the project extended over time, and as more and more youth workers imparted their experiences, it also became clear that political debates and developments in the wider society have a discernable influence not only on what is discussed online, but the manner of the discussion. For example, the anti-immigration bidding war that was conducted before the Finnish General Election of 2011 saw a clear intensification in racist sentiment, but also, it is important to note, young people reacting strongly against it in their online interactions. In an analogous way, the weeks after the

48. Sanomat poll link XXX

49. http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Police+investigate+Facebook+group+about+Finnish+minister+as+unlawful+intimidation/1135253347995

murders in Norway on July 22nd 2011 saw an "antiracism peak" in online activity in the various fora trailed by the project.

The project made a clear decision to speak of racism and advocate antiracism, and to provide training in those terms. As Satu and Heli point out, they were compelled to start offering training before their initial data-gathering phase had been completed, as they were in many ways the only project working in this field, and thus much in demand for advice an consultation. Inevitably, this meant that the project was also discussed in Homma Forum and other analogous sites, questioning and ridiculing the idea that criticism of immigration could be "dismissed" as racism, and thus the "political correct" waste of money involved of antiracism. In many ways, some of the youth workers who attended the trainings were also skeptical of discussing racism and antiracism, but for different reasons. In terms that reflect the decision to re-brand the 2007-8 All Different All Equal campaign as a "positive" campaign for diversity and participation, as opposed to a "negative" campaign against racism, many youth workers wanted to find more "positive" terms, such as calling for more tolerance. There were of course many reasons for this, from the general acceptance of the "pastness" of racism, to a fear that it would block dialogue with young people online, to a lack of political agreement with terming the encounters as "racist".

In this context, the project's training emphasized the enduring task of youth worker training, that is, providing a chance for people to reflect in-depth about their own attitudes, and what this kind of interaction demanded of them. It also involved re-casting established youth work practices in a new light – for example, if racist abuse online is bullying, then why not deal with it as one would bullying? It also required breaking new ground by challenging youth workers to recognize the ways in which "cultural racism" worked more through arguments based on incompatibility, the problem of inevitable conflict, the need to truthfully and openly identify and discuss problems in their culture, regardless of "political correctness", and so forth. Moreover, one of the key challenges faced by youth workers was the consistent challenge of being asked to replay to "facts". Youth work often emphasizes the communication of "values", however one of the defining dimensions of the anti-Muslim and anti-immigration blogosphere is a self-image as an alternative public sphere, circulating the uncomfortable truths suppressed by the "liberal mainstream media", documenting the economic, social and cultural costs of immigration; interpreting the Koran to provide incontrovertible evidence of Muslim behavior and Islamic designs, and so forth. The ready availability of sites laden with links and information, and Youtube videos from Islamophobic channels meant that some youth workers felt inadequate when confronting a "factual" argument, or resisted intervening too much as it would inflame certain discussions and facilitate the spread of material.

In this context, the project has not spent much time defining or working on hate speech, but rather on supporting youth workers in developing antiracist strategies, and strategies increasingly organized to take account of increasingly younger online participants – as young as 12-13 – getting involved in racist name-calling. An important aspect of the project's work is that it engages only in the Finnish sites mentioned, where the project has developed good contacts with the hosting companies, who themselves provide real-time moderation. As this is not possible on Facebook, the project has restricted its use of Facebook to promoting the campaign through various competitions, including encouraging young people to set up their own antiracist pages and to accumulate as many likes as possible.

The online chat situation, and the demands it makes on youth workers, has been carefully considered in the project's trainings. Online, it is not clear who is is "in the room" in terms of backgrounds. Therefore the first duty of a youth worker moderating a discussion is not to stay silent when racist ideas are introduced, as to stay silent would be to signal to somebody aggressed by that racism that the hosts in some way accepted it, or treated it as marginally important. At the same time, youth workers are online to engage with young people, to allow them to ask questions and test out ideas and opinions, and so immediately censorious approaches or condemnation are counter-productive. Every youth worker has to practice to find their boundaries, when to challenge, when to

advise, when to silence someone for a certain period of time to "cool off", or when to exclude them for obvious trolling and flaming with out any evidence that they really want to engage with those involved in the discussion. Youth workers need to try to connect with young people expressing openly racist attitudes, but they also need to display openly that confronting racism is a collective responsibility, not something to be left to minority young people to deal with.

Mapping study on projects against hate speech online

Prepared by the British Institute of Human Rights

"If we want to build a truly fair and vibrant community of political debate and social exchange, online and offline, it's not enough to ignore harassment of women, LGBT people or people of colour who dare to have opinions. Free speech means being free to use technology and participate in public life without fear of abuse – and if the only people who can do so are white, straight men, the internet is not as free as we'd like to believe."

Laurie Penny, A woman's opinion is the mini-skirt of the internet

"Any restrictions on the operation of websites, blogs or any other internet-based, electronic or other such information dissemination system, including systems to support such communication, such as internet service providers or search engines, are only permissible to the extent that they are compatible with paragraph 3 [of Article 19]. Permissible restrictions generally should be content-specific; generic bans on the operation of certain sites and systems are not compatible with paragraph 3."

General Comment No 34 by the Human Rights Committee on Freedom of Opinion and Expression

Executive summary

This paper is designed to inform the Council of Europe's project **"Young People Combating Hate Speech in Cyberspace"**. It looks at a number of existing initiatives to address the problem of cyberhate and, drawing from these, offers suggestions for the project.

In Section 2, we provide a brief account of definitions used in the paper. Many of the concepts associated with cyberhate are given different interpretations, depending on national legislation or the priorities of a particular organisation, and often the limits of these terms are not made clear. In looking for projects designed to combat cyberhate we have been guided by the organisations' understanding of these terms. It is noteworthy that most organisations do not attempt to distinguish between attempts to address the worst and most dangerous forms of hate speech from those which may be merely unpleasant, disturbing or displaying racist or intolerant attitudes.

In Section 3, we briefly address the tension between the rights of individuals and groups to receive protection from harmful and abusive speech, and freedom of expression – both as a right in itself and as the chief "enabler" of democratic discourse. Many of the initiatives we have identified concentrate on removing offensive content, or lobbying governments and ISPs for stricter regulation and better oversight. While this may be appropriate for the worst forms of hate speech, there is a need both to adopt a graded strategy, depending on the extent of "hate" involved, and to keep in mind the delicate balance to be struck if protection from abusive content is not to result in over-policing of healthy debate and alternative opinions.

Section 4 addresses the issue of how widespread cyberhate has become. This is not easy to establish – partly because of a failure on the part of many organisations which engage in monitoring the problem to define the limits of the concept. However, there have been various attempts to track the development of cyberhate and most indicate that the problem is growing. This is probably unsurprising given the fact that racism as a whole appears to be on the increase, and the fact that online communication is becoming both more widespread and more sophisticated. Cyberhate is one form of hate speech generally and there is bound to be a close connection between the its online and offline forms[50].

Section 5 outlines the electronic forms and methods used to disseminate hate speech and provides brief examples. It is only to be expected that those engaging in hate speech make use of all available means of electronic communication - including music, videos, online forums and bulletin boards, emails, blogs etc.

Section 6 consists of an outline of various initiatives undertaken by NGOs in Europe and elsewhere. These can be broadly divided into initiatives designed to monitor hate speech, often in order to remove abusive sites or comments; educational initiatives which aim to address the underlying causes or bring the problem to wider attention; meetings, networks and conferences which allow for exchange of experience and good practice on combating hate speech; work with victims or

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50. It should of course be noted that cyberhate – at least in its most serious form – is a tiny part of the totality of views which fill the internet. Prejudice may be a different matter.

communities to counter the effects of hate speech; and work with ISPs or governments to influence policy.

The final section contains general recommendations for the project, taking into account comments on existing initiatives, the nature of the problem, and the particular age group of those who will be undertaking the project.

Methodology

The research time available was brief, and the report does not attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the issues nor of initiatives to address them. We have concentrated on looking for individual projects or organisations which claim to be addressing the specific issue of hate speech online, rather than on identifying more general attempts to address racism, discrimination or intolerance. It is interesting that relatively few organisations working specifically on cyberhate – of those we have identified - do have a programme to address the underlying causes.

Research has been carried out using internet searches in English and Russian mainly using combinations of the following terms (word order has also been altered):
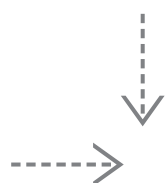
General terms *Words added to "hate speech" or "hate sites"*	The extent of the problem *Words added to terms in Column 1*	Initiatives to combat cyberhate *Words added to terms in Column 1 or 2 or both*
[none], Council of Europe, EU, Europe, OSCE	Monitoring, measuring, survey, statistics, research, extent, regulations	Project, fight, combat, banning, programme, stop, prevent, campaign, education, anti-racism, initiative, ISP
Online, Internet, web sites, email		
Freedom of expression, censorship, free speech, pluralism, tolerance		
Racism, discrimination, sexism, homophobia, disabled, young people, children, youth		

The list is not comprehensive – for example, we also performed some searches with specific countries as the search term. Searches were also carried out using the Russian translation of terms in the table above – but we were able to identify very few initiatives, other than those designed by international organisations. Some links have also been followed to sites in French and Ukrainian as the initiatives were different from anything previously found and were therefore worth recording.

In selecting which results to record we used the following general criteria:

- Originality or uniqueness of approach, methods or results.

- Whether the organisation worked in other ways to combat cyberhate (organisations that worked in more than one direction on cyberhate were given priority)

- Whether other initiatives or results had already been noted for the particular country

- Whether a particular approach had already been noted under a different organisation / country (we aimed not to duplicate very similar approaches)

- Whether the approach was intended to address cyberhate specifically, or "internet safety" (the first was given priority)

- Relevance to young people

Definitions

A number of the concepts closely related to cyberhate are given different interpretations by organisations working in the field – often depending on the region or country where the work is based. Often the terms are not defined at all, and anything *perceived by users* to be an expression of hate is recorded as an instance of hate speech. In identifying projects (Section 5) we have tended to follow the organisations' use, encompassing the widest range of instances – except when referring to terms or examples which are specifically dependent on a legal interpretation.

The advantage of taking the broader interpretation of concepts such as hate speech or cyberhate is that we do not exclude certain initiatives, reports or organisations which refer to the issue in the wider sense. The disadvantage is that different strategies may be more or less appropriate, depending on whether we are speaking of the worst and most dangerous expressions of hate, or of those which are simply extremely unpleasant and shocking. Related to this, but not necessarily defining the boundaries of any campaign, is the question of where freedom of expression can – or should – legitimately be restricted.

The project group will need to address these questions: they will need to arrive at a common enough understanding of where these boundaries should lie and will need to decide whether their work will be targeted on one side or other of the boundaries, or both. They may also need to be alerted to the importance of becoming vigilant while not becoming vigilantes.

Hate speech

"The term "hate speech" shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin."

Appendix to RECOMMENDATION No. R (97) 20 of the Committee of Ministers on "Hate Speech"[51]

This broad definition is taken as a starting point.

Points to note:

Although the definition lists a number of groups which are frequently seen to be the targets of hate speech, it does not limit the possible targets to these groups alone. This is an "open-ended" definition, in accordance with the open-ended understanding of discrimination adopted by the European Court of Human Rights. In this paper we also look at examples of homophobic and sexist

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51. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 30 October 1997 at the 607th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies

hate speech and instances of intolerance towards people with disabilities or people with different political views.

The boundaries of what is regarded as hate speech under this definition are likely to fall outside the boundaries of speech which is criminalised under national legislation. They are also likely to fall outside the boundaries of speech which should not be restricted under freedom of expression (see diagram below). These are important points because the most common strategy of organisations working in this area appears to be to campaign for greater restrictions on content, or to campaign for content to be taken offline.

The boundaries of hate speech
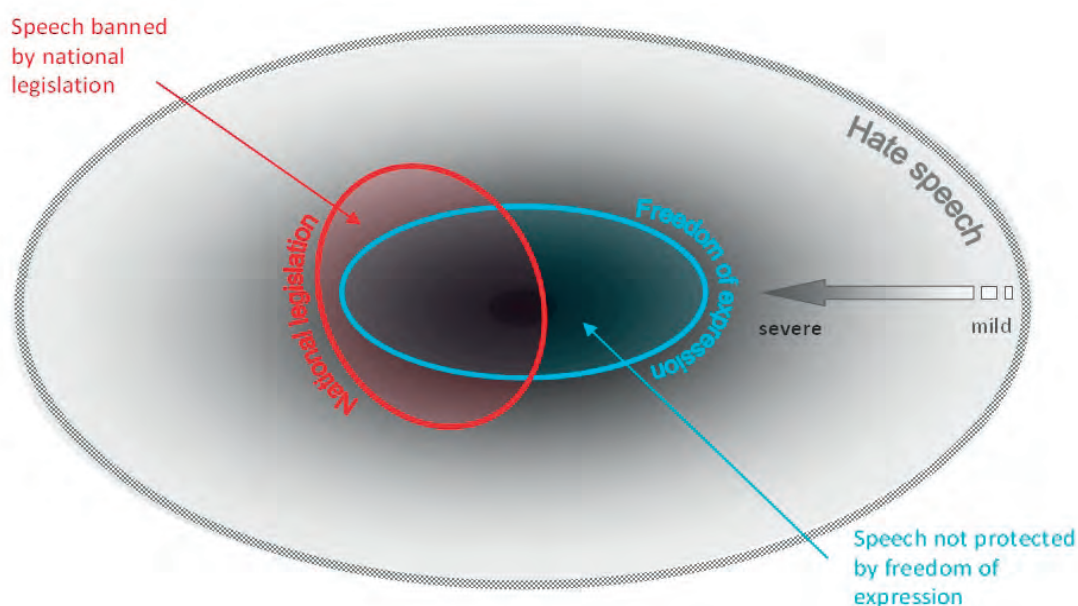
Hate speech online (cyberhate)

Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime[52]

Article 2.1   For the purposes of this Protocol:

"racist and xenophobic material" means any written material, any image or any other representation of ideas or theories, which advocates, promotes or incites hatred, discrimination or violence, against any individual or group of individuals, based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin, as well as religion if used as a pretext for any of these factors.

The Council of Europe's **Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime** is concerned only with hate speech which is racist or xenophobic and there are numerous instances of hate directed towards other groups, so we have included instances which "promote or incite hatred, discrimination, or violence" against such groups as well. We have also considered examples where an individual is targeted because of her identification with a particular group, mainly because the root of this problem is similar and therefore similar strategies are likely to be effective. Perhaps more controversially, we have also included instances where an individual is targeted and there is no apparent link with an underlying intolerance towards a particular group (cyber-bullying). Part of

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52.   Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime, concerning the criminalisation of acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems (Strasbourg, 28.I.2003).

the reason for including – briefly – some of the projects designed to address this problem is that many groups concerned with hatred or abuse online do not bother to distinguish the different cases or causes. A further reason is that the forms of abuse and the methods adopted, are generally very similar, so strategies to address one may overlap with strategies to address the other.

The definition of cyberhate used by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) elaborates on the forms and mechanisms used by those who spread or promote hate online:

> "ADL defines Cyber hate as any use of electronic communications technology to spread anti-Semitic, racist, bigoted, extremist or terrorist messages or information. These electronic communications technologies include the Internet (i.e., Web-sites, social networking sites, "Web 2.0" user-generated content, dating sites, blogs, on-line games, instant messages, and E-mail) as well as other computer- and cell phone-based information technologies (such as text messages and mobile phones)."
>
> *From Responding to Cyberhate, Toolkit for Action (ADL)*[53]

Cyber bullying

> Cyberbullying is related to, but is different from, Cyberhate. In a school context, cyberbullying means any electronic communication including, but not limited to, one shown to be motivated by a student's actual or perceived race, colour, religion, national origin, ancestry or ethnicity, sexual orientation, physical, mental, emotional, or learning disability, gender, gender identity and expression, or other distinguishing personal characteristic, or based on association with any person identified above, when the written, verbal or physical act or electronic communication is intended to:
>
> (i) Physically harm a student or damage the student's property; or
>
> (ii) Substantially interfere with a student's educational opportunities; or
>
> (iii) Be so severe, persistent, or pervasive that it creates an intimidating or threatening educational environment; or
>
> (iv) Substantially disrupt the orderly operation of the school.
>
> Responding to Cyberhate, Toolkit for Action (ADL)

As noted above, cyberbullying may only be of relevance to the project when it is primarily directed at individuals because of their association with a particular group.

Hate sites

> "An Internet hate site is a web site (or web page) maintained by an organized hate group on which hatred is expressed, through any form of textual, visual, or audio-based rhetoric, for a person or persons, or which provides information about how individuals can support the group's ideological objectives."
>
> *Untangling the Web of Hate, Brett Barnett (2007)*

The technologies of Web 2.0, which allow for extensive user interaction have resulted in hate spreading outwards from what are more narrowly known as "hate sites". This report addresses

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53.   http://www.adl.org/internet/Binder_final.pdf

hate speech both on sites dedicated to particular hate groups, and elsewhere – such as in emails or other personal messages, through gaming, comments on blogs and forums, music, videos – and so on.

Hate crime

Hate crimes are criminal acts committed with a bias motive[54]. Every hate crime has two elements. The first element is that an act is committed that constitutes a criminal offence under ordinary criminal law. The second element is that the offender intentionally chose a target with a protected characteristic. A protected characteristic is a characteristic shared by a group, such as "race", language, religion, ethnicity, nationality or any other similar common factor[55]

Crime Laws: A Practical Guide, (Warsaw: ODIHR, 2009), p. 16[56]

Online hate crime is clearly narrower than hate crime generally – and cyberhate narrower still, since many examples of cyberhate are likely not to constitute criminal activity in the specific country where they take place. In general, we avoid speaking of hate crime in this report, mainly because the legislation differs too much from one country to another. There may, however, be a question for organisations in specific countries as to whether domestic legislation is adequate (or over-adequate) to deal with the problem of cyberhate – particularly where it is likely to lead to criminal activity in the real world; and whether the legal route may be relevant in efforts to combat hate speech online.

54. This definition appears in the OSCE Ministerial Council, Decision No. 9/09, "Combating Hate Crimes", Athens, 1-2 December 2009, http://www.osce.org/cio/40695

55. Hate Crime Laws: A Practical Guide, (Warsaw: ODIHR, 2009), p. 16, http://www.osce.org/odihr/36426

56. http://www.osce.org/odihr/36426

Cyberhate and freedom of expression

> **Joint Declaration on Freedom of Expression and the Internet**[57]
>
> a. Freedom of expression applies to the Internet, as it does to all means of communication. Restrictions on freedom of expression on the Internet are only acceptable if they comply with established international standards, including that they are provided for by law, and that they are necessary to protect an interest which is recognised under international law …
>
> b. When assessing the proportionality of a restriction on freedom of expression on the Internet, the impact of that restriction on the ability of the Internet to deliver positive freedom of expression outcomes must be weighed against its benefits in terms of protecting other interests.
>
> *UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the ACHPR Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information*

Even within the Council of Europe member states there is little common ground concerning the need, or otherwise, for legislation to prohibit hate speech. Article 10 of the ECHR allows member states some margin of appreciation on this matter and there are fairly significant differences in national legislation across Council of Europe countries. These may partly be led by cultural differences, partly by historical fact, but also by the need – or perceived need – for greater or lesser protection for commonly targeted groups in countries which do not face identical challenges.

This report is not the place for a detailed examination either of differences in national legislation or of the complex relationship between freedom of expression and the suppression of hate speech. But given the fact that the tendency among those working on the issue of hate speech online appears to lean towards greater legislation - or at least, greater supervision of sites or groups which engage in hate speech - it is worth noting the key principles which have guided the European Court of Human Rights in determining where the balance should be struck.

Firstly, it is recognised within the European Convention of Human Rights that some expression may fall outside the protection of Article 10 (Freedom of Expression) where the requirements of Article 17 are met, that is, where persons or groups are engaged in activities aimed at the destruction, or limitation, of the Convention rights themselves.

Secondly, even if the test for Article 17 is not met, Article 10 itself is a qualified right and governments may – and in some circumstances should – limit expression where it is necessary in a democratic society to pursue one of the aims referred to in Article 10 (2), but only in so far as they are provided for by law and in a manner which is proportionate. The test against which such limitations are evaluated is a strict one.

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57.   Joint Declaration by The United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Representative on Freedom of the Media, the Organization of American States (OAS) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information, http://www.osce.org/fom/78309

The Human Rights Committee on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, in General Comment 34, has also provided guidance on the question:

> Any restrictions on the operation of websites, blogs or any other internet-based, electronic or other such information dissemination system, including systems to support such communication, such as internet service providers or search engines, are only permissible to the extent that they are compatible with paragraph 3[58] [of Article 19]. Permissible restrictions generally should be content-specific; generic bans on the operation of certain sites and systems are not compatible with paragraph 3. It is also inconsistent with paragraph 3 to prohibit a site or an information dissemination system from publishing material solely on the basis that it may be critical of the government or the political social system espoused by the government
>
> *General Comment No 34[59], Human Rights Committee on Freedom of Opinion and Expression*

Despite the Committee's recommendation that restrictions should be "content-specific", the point is not that the content of an expression is itself the deciding factor. Rather, it is the *impact* of the expression - whether in a particular instance it is likely to incite violence or hatred, or affect the rights of others – and also its intent or purpose which should help us to determine whether the line has been crossed. Any discussion of hate speech must also be informed by careful consideration of how, where, and by whom the impact and intent should be assessed.

What these considerations underline is that any attempt to address the issue of hate speech online through bans or restricting content must of course be informed by the potential danger or damage to particular individuals or groups; but it must also recognise the need "to avoid the risk of undermining democracy on the grounds of defending it[60]". Speech - in all its forms - is fundamental to democracy, and so is a degree of "tolerance" towards ideas or ideologies which we may find distasteful - but not dangerous.

Given the broad interpretation of hate speech which many organisations use in their work, it is important that attempts to combat the problem keep in mind this balance, and pay attention to the need for different approaches, depending on the context of the utterances, the intended aim or motivation, the profile of the individuals or groups which have been targeted, and the likely consequences. A recent article by Sergei Smirnov of the Russian Human Right Network[61] illustrates the dangers in assuming that legislation designed to protect the most vulnerable may not come to be used by the most powerful to protect either financial interests or political reputation. He lists a number of cases where politicians or companies have successfully used legislation to remove sites or comments which they regarded as detrimental to their interests.

Nevertheless, and despite the dangers, it is clear that the worst expressions of hate are not only very hurtful, but also potentially dangerous, and therefore almost certainly require some supervision and control. Speech is a powerful weapon which can be used to marginalise, intimidate and demean still further those who have already been rendered vulnerable by society. The ease and global reach of the internet, and the dangers in allowing free reign to all forms of expression - not just for individuals and groups but for society as a whole – at times necessitate restriction of free speech. Control of the more extreme forms of hate speech are not carried out despite human rights, but in the name of human rights.

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58. Paragraph 3 states that: "The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:
(a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others;
(b) For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals."

59. http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/docs/GC34.pdf

60. RECOMMENDATION No. R (97) 20 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on "Hate Speech" (1997) http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/doc/cm/rec%281997%29020&expmem_EN.asp

61. сергей смирнов, борьба за чистый интернет http://www.library.cjes.ru/online/?a=con&b_id=795

The extent of the problem

> "I get at least five sexually threatening emails a day." One of the least obscene recent messages read: "You're gonna scream when you get yours. Fucking slag. Butter wouldn't fucking melt, and you'll cry rape when you get what you've asked for. Bitch."
>
> *Caroline Farrow, journalist and blogger, Nov. 2011*[62]

It is difficult to obtain accurate estimates of the extent of hate speech online. Although many NGOs carry out their own monitoring, this is rarely comprehensive, and definitions of what constitutes hate speech – or the focus of monitoring - differ from country to country. There are further difficulties associated with methods of monitoring, particularly in an internet world which is increasingly user-generated, interconnected, and consisting of multiple forms of content. Personal messages and emails are clearly particularly difficult to track.

However, in general, there seems to be consensus that the problem of cyberhate is increasing both in magnitude, and in the variety of strategies used. The 2011 edition of the Simon Wiesenthal annual Digital Terror & Hate Report[63] notes a 12% increase to 14,000 "problematic social networks websites, forums, blogs, twitter, etc. (up from 11,500 last year), comprised on the subculture of hate".

A further measure is provided by the Internet Security system, Websense, which claims to be tracking about 15,000 "hate and militancy" sites, and which reported that racism, hate, and militancy sites tripled in number over 2009[64]. In particular, they report a substantial increase on social networking sites and other Web 2.0 sites such as YouTube, Yahoo! Groups, and Google Groups. However, the filtering system used by the company is a crude one: a number of sites have complained that they have been classified incorrectly as hate sites – and have later been re-classified by Websense as acceptable.

One reason behind the difficulty for NGOs in obtaining accurate statistics is the fact that hate speech is rarely confined to easily identifiable "hate sites". Furthermore, even where the sites are logged by monitoring organisations and then removed as a result of a complaint, they will frequently be set up anew using a different service provider (often in a different country). This, together with the particular features of Web 2.0 technology, which allows users to post comments, set up individual blogs, upload music, images or video content with extreme ease, makes comprehensive tracking both time-consuming and complicated, as well as being a task requiring constant vigilance.

The spread of methods used and the over-spilling of hate speech onto "normal" sites is perhaps the issue which presents most difficulties in attempts to combat the problem. Hate sites whose purpose is to recruit individuals or engage in planning of hate crimes can in theory be removed with

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62. Quoted in "Women bloggers call for a stop to "hateful" trolling by misogynist men" http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/05/women-bloggers-hateful-trolling

63. Digital Terrorism and Hate Report launched at Museum of Tolerance, February 2011 http://www.wiesenthal.com/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=lsKWLbPJLnF&b=4441467&ct=9141065

64. Racism, hate, militancy sites proliferating via social networking, Networkworld, May 2009 http://www.networkworld.com/news/2009/052909-hate-sites.html

more ease, and individuals can be prosecuted. But the "lesser" problem of hate speech generally is both more widespread and, partly for that reason, more difficult to erase (even temporarily). The key challenge is almost certainly to "erase" the attitudes which give rise to such a multitude of abusive comments, rather than to attempt to police them whenever they arise.

In Section 5 (below) we outline various initiatives by NGOs to monitor sites which target individuals or groups.

Young people and cyberhate

We have found relatively few attempts to track young people's involvement specifically in cyberhate – as opposed to surveys which look at internet safety in general, with an emphasis on avoiding sexually explicit sites. One organisation that has produced a survey which looked at young people, and isolated hate (together with bullying), is the Canadian Media Awareness Network. However, in common with many other studies – and for understandable reasons – the survey deals with perceptions and does not attempt to measure these perceptions against a freedom of expression standard. It is therefore difficult to assess what proportion of the comments which were perceived as hate might be considered to cross the line of acceptability.

Online Bullying and Exposure to Hate[65]

– One quarter of young Internet users (25%) say that someone has e-mailed them material that said hateful things about others. Of those, 35% did nothing about it. Twenty-nine per cent of those respondents replied to the e-mails themselves.

– More than half of all young Internet users (56%) use instant messaging. Of these, 14% indicate that they've been threatened while using instant messaging.

– Sixteen per cent of young Internet users say they have posted comments on the Internet that were hateful toward a person or group of people. Of those, 60% were male.

– Among youth in secondary school, only 21% say they have household rules about saying insulting things in their instant messaging or e-mail.

Media Awareness Network, Canada

The extent of cyberbullying

There is more research on the issue of cyberbullying. One detailed study was carried out between 2009-11 by "EU KidsOnline" to investigate children in Europe's use, risk and safety online. Interviews were conducted with 25,000 European children and their parents in 25 countries[66]. Some of the key findings are given below:

EU KidsOnline Survey

– Across Europe, 6 per cent of 9 to 16-year-old internet users reported having been bullied online, and 3 per cent confessed to having bullied others.

– Far more had been bullied offline, with 19 per cent saying they had been bullied at all – and 12 per cent having bullied someone else

– 56 per cent of online bullies said they had also bullied people face-to-face, and 55 per cent of online victims said they had also been bullied face-to-face.

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65. From "Young Canadians in a Wired World", a national school-based survey of 5,272 children and youth in Grades 4 to 11, and qualitative research findings from focus groups with parents and young people aged 11 to 17. 2003 – 2005.

66. http://www2.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/EUKidsOnline/EU%20Kids%20II%20(2009-11)/EUKidsOnlineIIReports/Final%20report.pdf

The report notes the close connection between people who bully online and offline, and also between victims and perpetrators of bullying. The authors suggest that "Online and offline bullying should be seen as connected, part of a vicious cycle in which perpetrators reach their victims through diverse means and victims find it hard to escape".

There are numerous stories[67] of children or young people who have been damaged, and have even committed suicide as a result of cyberbullying, often reinforcing bullying which takes place offline.

> Alexa Berman, 14, of Brookfield, Conn., hangs herself in her bedroom three days before starting high school. Adopted from Russia as a 3-year-old, she had made a smooth transition until adolescence, when former friends tormented her in person and over instant messages.
>
> *Teens who have committed suicide after being bullied online, Aug. 23, 2008*

Target groups

Hate crime statistics can provide some indication of trends in attitudes towards particular groups, and they can also – when disaggregated sufficiently – provide an indication of the key target groups in a particular society. The OSCE has been collecting figures from member countries[68] and has broken the figures down according to groups which are most frequently targeted (or perhaps more relevantly, for which governments supply information). Diagram 2 on the next page illustrates the overall picture. However, perhaps the most striking feature of the tables published by the OSCE are the huge gaps in information submitted, and the very low figures for certain countries compared to others. These low figures appear to be not so much an indicator that hate crime is absent in these particular countries – other information does not back up such a conclusion – but that there are very few prosecutions for such crimes.

The OSCE report also notes that for those countries that do submit figures, and where the numbers are higher, there is not consistency in the groups which are disaggregated, and the figures for many important groups are frequently not recorded. Diagram 1 provides a snapshot of figures from some countries to illustrate these points.

Diagram 1: Bias motivations recorded in hate crime figures

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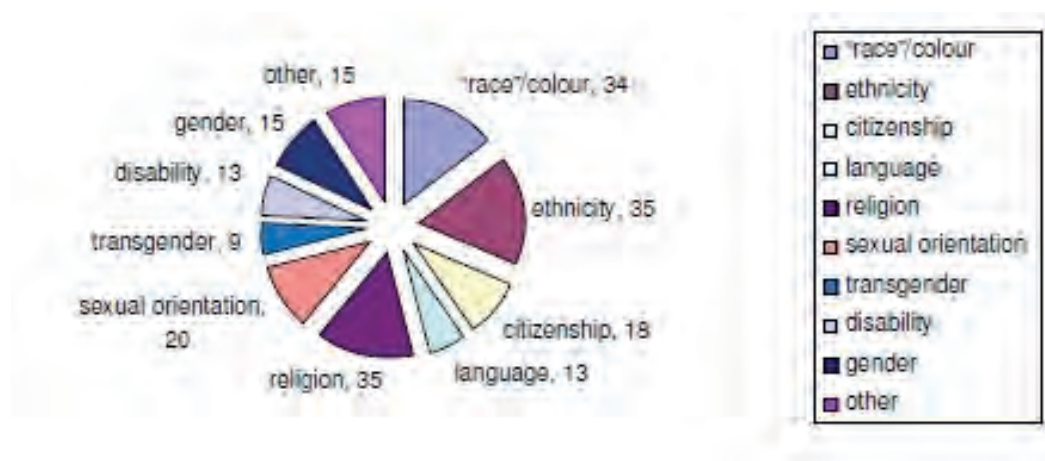
67. See, for example "Teens who have committed suicide after being bullied online", http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=130248877
68. Hate Crimes in the OSCE Region (2009) http://www.report-it.org.uk/files/73636.pdf

A report from ENAR[69] lists a number of groups which have not been documented and for which countries do not appear to collect (or submit) evidence. One interesting feature is the recognition that target groups differ across Europe – which is of course to be expected. This, together with the differences in legislation across European countries, may be an important consideration in designing an all-Europe campaign to address hate speech.

69. ENAR Factsheet No2, Racist Violence and Support to Victims. December 2009 http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/ MediaArchive/publications/FS42%20-%20racist%20violence%20and%20support%20to%20victims%20EN.pdf

Diagram 2: Hate Crimes in the OSCE Region: Police Reports, Prosecutions and Convictions in 2007, 2008 and 2009

Participating State	Type of data	Cases recorded by police 2009	Cases recorded by police 2008	Cases recorded by police 2007	Cases prosecuted 2009	Cases prosecuted 2008	Cases prosecuted 2007	Cases sentenced 2009	Cases sentenced 2008	Cases sentenced 2007
Albania										
Andorra		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Armenia		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Austria	Data represent the total number of offences with xenophobic/racist, anti-Semitic and Islamophobic motives.	61	91	65						
Slovenia			22	24						
Spain		23	38	224		246	0			
Sweden	Data include crimes of incitement to hatred and discrimination crimes.	5797	5895	3536	450	290	290			
Switzerland	Data include discrimination crimes.				36	27		28	9	
Tajikistan										
Turkey	Data include crimes of incitement to hatred and discrimination crimes.				250	258	203	242	97	39
Turkmenistan										
Ukraine	Data include crimes of incitement to hatred and discrimination crimes.		8	2		1	0		1	0
United Kingdom	Data include crimes of incitement to hatred and discrimination crimes.	52,102 (crimes in England and Wales) 6,590 (crimes in Scotland)	46,300 (crimes in England and Wales)		13,030 (crimes in England and Wales)	14,186 (crimes in England and Wales)		10,690 (crimes in England and Wales)		

Forms and methods

The following section outlines briefly the main methods used to spread hate on the internet, with examples. The examples are far from being the worst. They are probably the "best" of the worst, the ones that may just be printable in a document such as this.

Hate sites

12 per cent of European 11-16 year olds claimed to have seen hate sites in 2009, rising to one in five 15-16 year olds.[70]

A hate site is a site dedicated to promoting or inciting hate against a particular group or groups. The most "effective" hate sites may be seen as those which employ all of the available methods of electronic communication. They form hubs of hate for the purposes of building communities, spreading a particular ideology, recruiting newcomers, and sometimes – though not inevitably – encouraging or promoting hate crime.

New technologies have put new tools into the hands of those who wish to spread such messages and hate sites today make full use of blogs, social networking sites, videos and open forums. Many of the forms or specific sites mentioned below will link through various routes to each other, and sometimes to a general site where supporters and newcomers may aggregate.

"Stormfront, arguably the largest white power online forum, sees racist, anti-Semitic, homophobic and xenophobic YouTube videos reposted there by the hundreds. A single thread, titled 'YouTube,' has 1,170 posts – most of which contain reposted YouTube videos of white power bands, hate group leader's speeches, and various white nationalist call-to-action videos. Other threads on Stormfront encourage members to post videos to YouTube, as a way to spread white nationalist ideals."

Stop Racism Collective (Canada)

The worst examples of hate sites can often be taken offline - either because they infringe legislation in the country where they are based, or by lobbying the service provider. Sites based in the US are, however, particularly "well-protected" and the process of removing them may be lengthy if not impossible. Of equal if not greater concern is the fact that hate groups have become more conscious of the need to propagate their ideology in terms which do not obviously come across as racist. The language is often more subtle, the messages are hidden beneath multiple examples or narrow

70. Result from the survey "EUKidsOnline" http://www2.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/EUKidsOnline/EU%20Kids%20 II%20(2009-11)/EUKidsOnlineIIReports/Final%20report.pdf

statistics which confirm negative stereotypes about particular groups - but only because of the absence of other information. The sites of nationalist political parties are one example. It is perhaps a consideration that the suppression of openly hateful sites could lead to authors of such sites adopting more sophisticated, more insidious forms of hate. These may be just as damaging, but harder to identify - and much more difficult to control or neutralise.

Blogs and online forums

In Hong Kong after a 31-year old woman jumped 24 stories to her death in December of 2007, a mob of bloggers, called the "human flesh search engine," accused her husband, of being responsible for her death. Internet users used his admitted affair as bait to saturate him with harassing messages and death threats.

Cyber hate on the rise, UN Radio[71]

Hate Blogs provide one form in which individuals are able to display racist or intolerant views for general view, but "haters" also target the blogs of potential victims through comments on *their* sites. For some groups, or in some countries, this may be the preferred form: comments can be anonymous, new identities can be set up with ease, the impact on the individual concerned can be immediate - and a few negative comments on a blog or in a forum are likely to encourage others to join in. If comments are un-moderated - or if the "moderation" is done by individuals who support the attacks, the result can be that the site quickly chases away members prepared to offer counter-examples or arguments. There is a closing down of debate and those left behind become a mutually supporting community sharing only negative comments or stereotypes.

Hate mails and offensive and threatening messages on public discussion forums, in particular on Usenet (newsgroups) are much more common [than hate sites].

Another "trend" are SMS messages sent to mobile phones owned by persons with a non-Danish background[8], including pictures of a black man strung up in a robe, subtitled "White power".[72]

David Hopmann, Danish Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (DRC)

Emails and personal messages

Interview with David Goldman, creator of HateWatch

IR: What about other aspects of the Net, like chat rooms, E-mail lists and discussion groups? Are they more useful to extremists?

GOLDMAN: Number one is E-mail, E-mail, E-mail. E-mail lists are a fantastic way to pull people together because you can talk to one another directly.

And one-to-one E-mail is a powerful tool, particularly when somebody of the stature of a Don Black sends you a personalized E-mail message. So I think what we're seeing now is a return back to older technologies based on text rather than images or graphics.

There are other examples of this. In chat rooms, which are populated mainly by young people, you can swear and use racial epithets with a certain amount of ease, and that helps to support your own stereotypes and racial bigotry. Unlike hate sites, these chat rooms create a sense of immediacy and community.

Cyberhate Revisited[73]

71. http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/english/2009/06/cyber-hate-on-the-rise/
72. From "Hate on the Net" (INACH) http://www.inach.net/content/inach-hateonthenet.pdf
73. From "Hate on the Net" (INACH) http://www.inach.net/content/inach-hateonthenet.pdf

Private emails or personal messages are perhaps the hardest medium to control or influence. As the extract above indicates, emails may be used to draw in supporters and spread ideology in private spaces which are almost impossible to monitor. Personal messages are also used to target and intimidate individuals, often resulting in self-censorship or the individuals removing themselves from the public gaze.

> "After one particular round of rape threats, including the suggestion that, for criticising neoliberal economic policymaking, I should be made to fellate a row of bankers at knifepoint, I was informed that people were searching for my home address…
>
> I'd like to say that none of this bothered me – to be one of those women who are strong enough to brush off the abuse, which is always the advice given by people who don't believe bullies and bigots can be fought. Sometimes I feel that speaking about the strength it takes just to turn on the computer, or how I've been afraid to leave my house, is an admission of weakness. Fear that it's somehow your fault for not being strong enough is, of course, what allows abusers to continue to abuse."
>
> *Laurie Penny, journalist and blogger, Nov. 2011[74].*

Gaming

> Hate groups are creating their own anti-Semitic and racist online games to incite violence and genocide. The objective of the computer game Ethnic Cleansing, for example, is to kill "subhumans", also known as Blacks and Latinos, along with their Jewish "evil masters". Hate groups are also reaching young people by developing hate versions of popular computer games.
>
> *Barbara Zimmerman, Q and A: Hate on the Internet [75]*

The compelling world of online games, where users appear to inhabit a parallel world and actions can be presented as having no impact on real individuals is particularly effective in reinforcing stereotypes and presenting "solutions" which target particular groups – often through violence. Games are increasingly used to propagate myths, build prejudice and create communities. There is a high possibility that immersion in such games, many of which are highly sophisticated and

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74. "A woman's opinion is the mini-skirt of the internet", Laurie Penny, 2011. http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/laurie-penny-a-womans-opinion-is-the-miniskirt-of-the-internet-6256946.html

75. http://kiwicommons.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Hate-on-the-Internet.pdf

use real groups as the "enemy", helps to blur the distinction between fantasy and reality. "Facts" presented in the game world are very likely to be carried over to the real world.

Promotion for the game "Ethnic Cleansing"

The race war has begun. Your skin is your uniform in this battle for the survival of your kind. The White Race depends on you to secure its existence. Your people's enemies surround you in a sea of decay and filth that they have brought to your once clean and white nation. Not one of their numbers shall be spared.

Quoted in Handbook of Children, Culture and Violence: Dowd, Singer, Wilson

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Social networking sites (SNS)

Most of the SNS have terms of use which prohibit racism, calls to violence, or other forms of abusive and discriminatory content. However, the ease with which these pages can be set up and the strong networking possibilities they offer mean that the terms of use, unless carefully monitored, are relatively ineffective. Facebook and other SNS are cluttered with users' pages which target particular groups directly – such as the first one below – and even with groups which call explicitly for violence – such as the Ku-Klux-Klan screenshot shown below that. Although in theory such sites can be removed, they are often difficult to find, because they may only be accessible to the site's "friends". And once removed, it is not too difficult for the groups to restore the pages using a different username.


Captured at:
http://securitylabs.websense.com/content/Blogs/3404.aspx

Videos and music

Hate music and videos are also used to attract supporters – and often to raise revenue for racist groups. Record companies set up by such groups will typically also contain links to games, videos, forums or other sites with connected ideologies. Hate sites, in turn, link to the download page for music clips or the record company itself.

Although YouTube has terms which forbid the posting of racist or violent videos, the volume of traffic, the anonymity of posters, and perhaps the lack of a strong desire to enforce their own terms means that hate groups or individuals can put up videos containing apparently forbidden content with ease. The same is true of most other video posting sites.
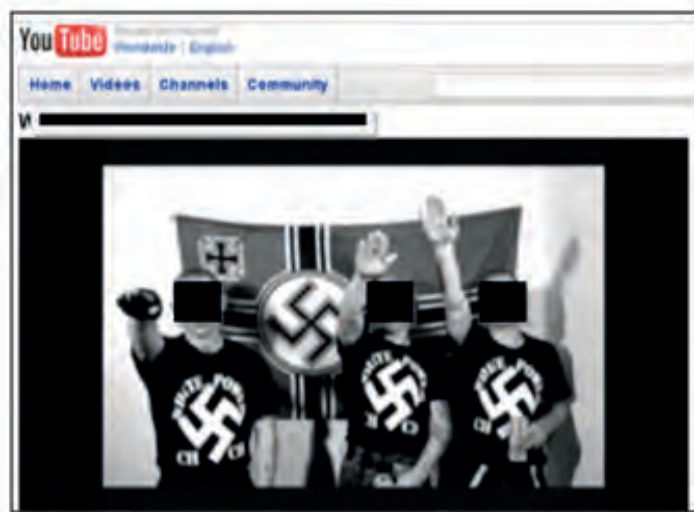
The lyrics of "hate songs" – another popular recruiting tool - range from the mildly racist to extreme forms of incitement. For example, the Grinded Nig (Texas) song "Splatterday, Nigger Day" contains the lyrics: "Drive around in my van

We want to kill a nigger

They are in the city

Follow one into the alley

We all attack the nigger

He has seen his last day."

Interview with David Goldman, creator of HateWatch

GOLDMAN: The far more important way kids get into this movement is through the music.

IR: You're talking about racist white power music.

GOLDMAN: Yes. That's why [neo-Nazi National Alliance leader] William Pierce bought Resistance Records [America's leading distributor of racist music]. Once you start listening, buying CDs, maybe it's time to take that next step and go to one of the concerts. That's where the next step, actual recruitment, takes place. It's real life, not just logging on to a web site. Now the kid has taken a step in real life.

Cyberhate Revisited[76]

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76. http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2001/spring/the-year-in-hate/cyberhate-revisited

Automated content, astroturfing and fictitious identities

As far as hate speech is concerned, this section is more a possible view of the not-too-distant future than a form of dissemination for which we have found concrete evidence. The key factor linking the methods identified in the title of this section is the element of deceit, the pretence that a particular piece of content has been generated by a single individual. In some cases, the content may in fact have been generated by a computer programme; in others, it has been generated by a company or movement with a particular agenda to push.

> **Astroturfing** is a form of advocacy in support of a political, organizational, or corporate agenda, designed to give the appearance of a "grassroots" movement. The goal of such campaigns is to disguise the efforts of a political or commercial entity as an independent public reaction to another political entity—a politician, political group, product, service or event. The term is a derivation of AstroTurf, a brand of synthetic carpeting designed to look like natural grass.
>
> **From** https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Astroturfing#Examples

"Astroturfing" has been a feature of the internet for some time and has been widely used by – among others - governments[77], tobacco companies[78], climate change "deniers"[79] and health providers or insurance firms[80]. It does not seem implausible that such methods may come to be used – if they are not already – by groups attempting to disseminate a racist message. This task will be made easier by the use of computer programmes which can be used to simulate a human being, but which have the advantage of not requiring vast numbers of *real* human beings to carry out the task.

A number of recent reports have also highlighted the increasing volume of "bots" and other electronically generated traffic on the internet[81]. While the majority of bots have traditionally slunk about the internet, disrupting the human experience or collecting information, more forward-thinking human designers of automated programmes have begun to explore the potential not only to collect, but also to disseminate important messages. For these as yet still new creations, a visible presence becomes essential – but the visibility is in the message and not, of course, in the originator of the message.

A series of recent email exchanges between the US Military and a private contractor suggest that machine-generated content for the purposes of propaganda has already become a reality. "Persona management software" uses artificial identities, manufactured to appear as real human beings, to send out messages on SNS and other internet forums:

> ...we will create a set of personas on twitter, blogs, forums, buzz, and myspace under created names that fit the profile (satellitejockey, hack3rman, etc). These accounts are maintained and updated automatically through RSS feeds, retweets, and linking together social media commenting between platforms. With a pool of these accounts to choose from, once you have a real name persona you create a Facebook and LinkedIn account using the given name, lock those accounts down and link these accounts to a selected "#" of previously created social media accounts, automatically pre-aging the real accounts...

> Using the assigned social media accounts we can automate the posting of content that is relevant to the persona. In this case there are specific social media strategy website RSS feeds we can subscribe to and then repost content on twitter with the appropriate hashtags. In fact using hashtags and gaming some location based check-in services we can make it appear as if

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77. http://arstechnica.com/science/news/2011/07/astroturfing-a-major-challenge-to-climate-change.ars

78. http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=National_Smokers_Alliance

79. http://www.businessgreen.com/bg/news/1806738/greenpeace-uncovers-astroturf-campaign-challenge-us-climate

80. Bennett, James T. and DiLorenzo, Thomas D. (1998), CancerScam: a diversion of federal cancer funds to politics, Transaction Publishers, ISBN 1-56000-334-0

81. Recent research by Incapsula showed that approximately half of all Web traffic stems from automated sources

a persona was actually at a conference and introduce himself/herself to key individuals as part of the exercise, as one example. There are a variety of social media tricks we can use to add a level of realness to all fictitious personas

From a leaked email, reported at http://boingboing.net/2011/02/18/hbgarys-high-volume.html

It is not yet clear that such methods have reached widespread use – but the use of such methods for dissemination of information or messages is clearly extremely powerful. It seems highly likely that as the technology becomes more widely known, it will be picked up by other groups and begin to increase in volume[82]. We have described an initiative in Section 6.4.4 which uses computer generated content to address racism on the internet.

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82. See also Revealed: US spy operation that manipulates social media: http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2011/mar/17/us-spy-operation-social-networks

Confronting cyberhate: key strategies

There are a number of national organisations and international networks which work exclusively on one or more of cyberhate, cybercrime, cyberbullying - particularly where these involve young people – or internet safety. Of these, by far the largest number appear to be concerned with cyberbullying and crime: specifically, with protecting young people from pornographic sites and sexual exploitation. Where this is the focus of an organisation, rather than the broader issue of extremist views online, there may still be a strand of work or a single project devoted to the problem of cyberhate. The approach taken will often sit on the back of the general advice or assistance given to internet users about keeping safe online.

For those organisations whose main orientation is cyberhate and the problem of racist or extremist views online, there are generally a broad range of initiatives undertaken – often including educational activities, receiving complaints or notification from the public, general monitoring of the problem, and guidance on safe use of the internet. Organisations will often follow up on complaints themselves and either engage in campaigns for better laws or a more rigorous approach by internet service providers (ISPs) towards removing such sites. A few such organisations pursue complaints in the courts.

A third group of organisations work on issues such as racism and xenophobia, children's rights or human rights generally - and cyberhate will often be included as one aspect of this work. In general, such organisations tend to focus on activities which raise awareness or promote a better understanding of the issues in question but they may also receive complaints through a hotline or contact form.

The next section outlines in more details some of the specific initiatives undertaken by different organisations – and sometimes by individuals. These have been divided into separate areas of activity, but many – if not most – initiatives will overlap or involve one or more simultaneously:

1. Monitoring and research.

2. Receiving and investigating complaints.

3. Working with ISPs and the law

4. Education, training and awareness raising

5. Public campaigns

6. Victim support and community building

7. International cooperation

Monitoring and research

Monitoring the extent of the problem is clearly key both to understanding the extent and range of sites covered, forms taken and groups targeted – but it is also important in selecting ways of dealing with the problem. Many European countries appear to have at least one organisation which attempts to track the scale of the problem, but 'monitoring' frequently involves no more than

collecting complaints from users – which, although better than nothing, does not give an accurate picture of the extent of the problem.

Some of the difficulties in conducting successful monitoring have been outlined in Section 4 above. Surveys or statistics from a hotline may illustrate increasing user vigilance and responsibility for content they find upsetting or shocking, which is undoubtedly a success of sorts. But such statistics can rarely be a useful measure either of the amount of hate speech on the web, or of whether that amount is increasing or decreasing – not least because a single category is often used to cover both pornographic sites and hate sites – "sites with harmful content", or "offensive material". More importantly, however, in contrast to pornographic material, which is normally fairly easily identified, one of the dangers of online hate is that young people – in particular – may be sucked into a community who share negative perceptions of particular groups; and who build on this shared perception by spreading misinformation. Newcomers are likely to be taken in by the misinformation – particularly if they already have a negative view of the target groups – and this is likely to lead to reinforcement of those views. Complaints are only likely to be submitted by those who recognise that the new "community" has passed a line of acceptability.

Two interesting initiatives have approached the question of monitoring the problem of cyberhate in very different, but perhaps equally useful ways. The first, MRAP, has attempted to map out in a fairly comprehensive way the number and forms of hate sites. The second organisation, IHRPEX, has taken a narrower approach and has focussed on the most popular national news sites, looking both at which groups are more frequently targeted for abuse, and at how frequently this happens.

– The French organisation MRAP (Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples[83]) conducted a thoroughgoing piece of research between 2008-2009 into sites containing instances of hate speech against various groups. The research documented over 2000 URLs, including not just obvious hate sites, but links to and from these sites leading to forums, blogs, social networking sites and individual videos or other forms of multi-media. A picture of a series of highly interconnected "hate networks" emerged, which served to illustrate the sophistication of many hate groups in spreading their ideology and recruiting new members. The viewing of one video, for example, was likely to lead users to further videos, hate-music, communities which shared the same views, and various resources – many of which could be purchased online.

– The Ukrainian organisation IHRPEX (The Institute of Human Rights and the Prevention of Xenophobia[84]) carried out a detailed analysis of 20 of the main Ukrainian social and political websites – including both electronic versions of popular Ukrainian media and a number of independent sites. The organisation also polled 623 users of these sites in order to assess their attitudes towards examples of abuse on these websites. They looked for content which displayed "verbal offences, threats and displays of aggression to a certain social group or a certain person" and limited research to key articles included on the sites and to comments beneath these articles.

Some of the results are included below:

– 71% of discussion threads relating to articles contained comments thought to be abusive

– Approximately one in three comments were perceived as abusive

– About 9% of articles were judged to contain examples of hate speech: a third of the views expressed belonged to the author of the article, and about 70% were views of other people quoted by the author

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83. http://www.mrap.fr

84. http://www.ihrpex.org

– 9 of 10 respondents claimed to have seen abusive content – mostly on discussion threads. 80% encountered the displays of hatred in comments, 77% – on forums, blogs and in chats.

From a summary of the report The phenomenon of cyber-hatred on the Ukrainian Internet[85], May 2011

We have not been able to access the full report, so it is not clear to what extent statements that were "perceived to be" examples of hate speech would actually constitute hate speech. However, the results are revealing because of what they indicate about the extent to which the most popular media sites allow – and engage in – commentary which appears to display hatred towards particular groups or individuals. Interesting, also, was the breakdown of this content which enabled IHRPEX to identify some of the main targets of abuse. The main targets of abuse (35% of negative commentary) turned out to be directed at representatives of the political elite – in particular, the Ukrainian President and (now former) Prime Minister. Given the political status of these individuals, it is hardly likely that all negative comments would qualify as hate speech – or at least, that such negative remarks may well be protected under international freedom of expression commitments.

Among other groups, results were as follows:

– Among commentary towards people with different political views, about 50% of negative commentary was directed at nationalists, 17% at supporters of the Party of Regions, 15% at supporters of communism

– 21% of the negative commentary directed towards nationalists and 30% of that directed at communists contained calls to violence.

– Of the comments directed towards people of different nationality, Russians received most abuse (43%), Ukrainians received 42% of negative comments and Jews 13%

– One in ten comments directed towards representative of other nationalities contained calls for elimination.

– Among comments directed towards people in different regions, about 65% concerned those living in the West of Ukraine.

– Calls for elimination of residents in the West of Ukraine were contained in 20% of the comments directed against people in other regions.

It would be interesting to see a breakdown of comments for other potential target groups – for example, religious belief, LGBT and non-Ukrainian / non-Russian nationalities. But the results of such a survey are clearly very valuable in pointing towards a number of initiatives which may be effective in addressing the problem. In particular, the survey illustrates the need to work with journalists themselves, and a further initiative by IHRPEX - described under Section 6 below – does just this.

Hotlines and complaint forms

INHOPE

INHOPE is the International Association of Internet Hotlines. INHOPE coordinates a network of Internet Hotlines all over the world, supporting them in responding to reports of illegal content to make the Internet safer.

INHOPE was founded in 1999 and has grown to a network of 40 Hotlines across the globe.

http://www.inhope.org

Although INHOPE's primary concern is illegal content – and in particular, online child pornography - many of the member organizations are also engaged with fighting cyberhate, and their hotlines

85. http://www.ihrpex.org/en/article/2086/the_summary_of_the_report_phenomenon_of_the_cyber-hatred_in_the_ukrainian_internet_space

accept complaints about racist material or other abusive content. INHOPE provides support and expertise to members in the setting up and functioning of hotlines, encourages and facilitates the exchange of information and also has educational programmes on internet safety and awareness.

Many organisations working on cyberhate – whether or not they are members of INHOPE - allow users to submit complaints about particular websites, either through a telephone hotline or, more normally, through an online form. Other organisations provide links to official or unofficial organisations – for example, other NGOs or the police - which will assist or follow up on complaints.

The simple blog "Stand up to Hate" (http://standuptohate.blogspot.com) provides a useful and detailed list of the type of information that the police will require, and suggests ways of taking screen shots or downloading content in case these are removed before the complaint can be investigated[86]. It provides links to online forms in numerous other countries as well as to other organisations dealing with racism or intolerance and has its own online form for reporting.

The Canadian site "Stop Racism and Hate Collective" (http://www.stopracism.ca) has a series of excellent initiatives to combat online hate – including various online campaigns (mentioned under Section 6.6 below), information and resources on racism (mentioned under Section 6.4 below), an online form for submitting complaints, and detailed information on how users can complain directly to different sites hosting racist content[87]. They encourage the submission of complaints directly to websites or hosting companies since this increases the likelihood of those responsible taking notice - and many SN sites or blog hosting sites have terms and conditions which forbid racist or abusive content. The organisation also lists numerous sites or blogs that they have identified[88] as inciting or spreading hate, and encourages users to send a personal or template email to complain about these. They have successfully managed to take a number of sites offline.

Working with ISPs and the law

The purpose of conducting some form of monitoring is usually in order to identify examples of hate sites and then take action to have them taken offline. Sometimes this will involve making use of the web hosting company's terms and conditions, notifying them about sites that contravene the stated policy. However, except for the most extreme examples of cyberhate – those which constitute crimes - blocking websites or taking them offline has met with criticism by some, either because it is ineffective in countering the opinions expressed – and the priority should be to direct attention towards this – or from the point of view of freedom of expression.

The Joint Declaration on Freedom of Expression and the Internet mentioned above makes the following point:

> Mandatory blocking of entire websites, IP addresses, ports, network protocols or types of uses (such as social networking) is an extreme measure – analogous to banning a newspaper or broadcaster – which can only be justified in accordance with international standards, for example where necessary to protect children against sexual abuse.

However, and despite the dispute over the extent of freedom which should be permitted in cases of online hate - there are clearly instances where the balance falls squarely on the side of restricting expression, and where criminal prosecution may be necessary. Some organizations are engaged in pursuing criminal prosecution where this is possible, in the hope not only of removing the abusive content, but of prosecuting the individuals concerned.

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86. See http://standuptohate.blogspot.com/p/reporting-online-abuse-and-extra.html

87. http://www.stopracism.ca/content/report-hate-social-networking-sites

88. http://www.stopracism.ca/content/block-these-blogs

Using the law

> "All Jews are crying babies. They would shut up if Hitler brought them back to the gas chambers. The world needs Hitler again to do the cleansing job,"
>
> "Expel dirty Roma people out of Lithuania. If the Lithuanian government does not drive them away, Lithuanian citizens will do it!"
>
> "All sleazy fags have to be slain like filthy rats. If I saw a homo talking to my son, I would strangle him with my own hands. Homos needs to get out of Lithuania and go to Brussels or Amsterdam,"
>
> *Online comments quoted in "Why is hate speech flourishing on the Lithuanian Internet?", May 2011*

The Lithuanian non-governmental organisation Tolerant Youth Association (TJA) has been working for a number of years to promote tolerance in society, and has recently begun working on the problem of online hate speech. In addition to continuing to run educational programmes, in 2010 – 2011, the Association initiated 58 pre-trial investigations into cases involving hate and enmity. This represented a rise of nearly double compared to the previous year.

The Chairman of the TJA, Arturas Rudomanskis explained the change in strategy:

> "Until last year, we would pinpoint online hatemongers to prosecutors. This year however, we changed our tactics by creating an autonomous system allowing people to file complaints against online bashers directly to the Prosecutor's Office. This has undoubtedly worked out well, as conscious people extensively report hate cases to prosecutors,"
>
> Quoted in "Why is hate speech flourishing on the Lithuanian Internet?"[89], May 2011

As a result of the efforts of the TJA, a number of individuals posting particularly abusive content – such as the examples quoted at the beginning of this section - have been traced, prosecuted, and punished.

Removing a site – or simply any abusive content – may not prevent the same content from reappearing at a different point on the web, possibly hosted in another country. It may also not always be the best use of scarce NGO resources, because a great deal of time can be involved in continually tracking such sites, submitting complaints, and perhaps being uncertain of the outcome - again, depending on where the site is hosted.

However, the strategy adopted by the TJA appears to have advantages beyond simply removing the sites in question. The OSCE Report on Hate Crimes in the OSCE Region[90], mentioned above, indicates that in 2009 only 3 cases of hate crime were recorded by the Lithuanian police, and the year before, the figure was 2. Prosecution of such crimes undoubtedly has the potential to send a message to other individuals that they cannot expect impunity on such issues, and it may also be used to publicise more widely the unacceptability of certain forms of behaviour. The TJA's outreach work was clearly successful in communicating the message to users that certain material is unacceptable, and that they can take action themselves to have it removed. This can be an empowering message and it can also encourage users to interact more critically with material they come across which appears to breach the bounds of acceptability.

A further consequence of TJA's strategy was to be seen in the role that it played in "educating" law enforcement officials. The District Prosecutor involved in one of the cases brought by the TJA admitted that the case was the first of "its kind" in his career and commented further:

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89. http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2011/05/in-lithuania-an-overdue-crackdown-on-online-hate-speech139.html
90. http://www.report-it.org.uk/files/73636.pdf

> "I launched the investigation following a complaint by the Tolerant Youth Association. To be honest, had it not been for the complaint, I would have not sought prosecution, as it is simply impossible to keep track of the post flow on the internet,"

Education, training and awareness raising

Young people

> "Programs that have been deemed as utilizing effective strategies in the battle against hate crime are programs that focus on cooperation, communication, affirmation, conflict resolution, problem solving, mediation, and bias awareness (Prutzman,1994). Essentially, these programs are similar, if not the same programs deemed effective against bullying related to any violent behaviour".[91]

Educating those who perpetrate cyberhate – or who are likely to do so – in the consequences of their actions and the injustice of their opinions must be *the* key long-term objective of anyone concerned with the problems of racism, bias, hate speech or other forms of intolerance. Reducing the number of people who engage in such behaviour – whether online or offline, altering attitudes in society so that such views are seen as unacceptable and unfounded, removing the psychological reasons which tempt people to join such communities – or at least, establishing other communities not based on bigotry or bias - must be the only sure way to address the issue at its roots. But education is also one of the least certain, and perhaps least rewarding in the short term of all possible approaches. Educational programmes which attempt to change attitudes or promote alternative points of view are difficult to evaluate and are generally only really effective when practised over the long-term – partly because attitudes are deep-rooted and very resistant to change, and partly because so many other societal or cultural influences can play in the opposite direction.

We do not attempt to evaluate or even to list the numerous educational programmes which exist, but a few of the different approaches are outlined below. As the quote at the beginning of this section points out, any educational programme which aims to address the attitudes or issues which lead to hate crime offline will also be effective against cyberhate. The small selection presented below have been chosen either because they dovetail with other efforts being carried out by organisations working on cyber-hate or because they are specifically directed at hate speech online, and not at racism or intolerance generally. However, it is likely to be the case that other initiatives which take a sustained approach to the problem, looking at different aspects of hate, intolerance, human rights and intercultural relations over a period of time may be more effective in developing the knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to effect substantial change.

Resources for School children

The Media Awareness Network (MNet)[92]

MNet is a Canadian non-profit organization that has been pioneering the development of media literacy and digital literacy programs since its incorporation in 1996. Members of our team have backgrounds in education, journalism, mass communications and cultural policy. Working out of Ottawa, we promote media literacy and digital literacy by producing education and awareness programs and resources, working in partnership with Canadian and international organizations, and speaking to audiences across Canada and around the world.

91. Orwick and Settles, op cit.

92. http://www.media-awareness.ca

The idea behind our work

MNet focuses its efforts on equipping adults with information and tools to help young people understand how the media work, how the media may affect their lifestyle choices and the extent to which they, as consumers and citizens, are being well informed.

The organisation has a number of educational resources and links to useful books and articles addressing hate speech and hate speech online – as well as numerous other resources on related issues, such as media stereotyping. In particular, they have made available various free lesson plans and online games for young children, some of which are specifically aimed at addressing the question of cyberhate – either by means of exploring bias and prejudice, or by building critical thinking skills and an awareness of the need to check information and look for alternative viewpoints. Two online games – provided with teachers' notes - are outlined below.

CyberSense and Nonsense
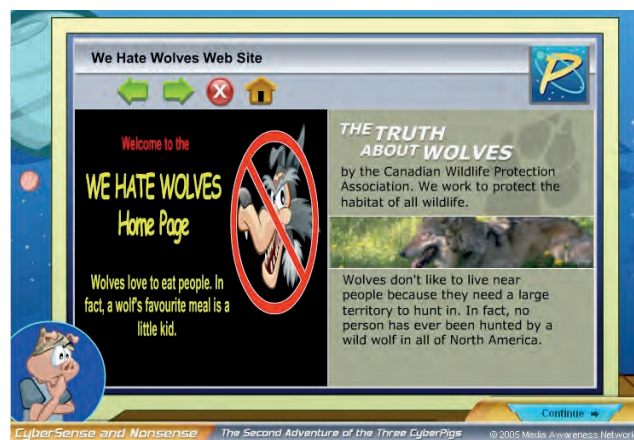
Sense and Nonsense: Second Adventure of The Three CyberPigs[93]

…three CyberPigs learn some important lessons about authenticating online information and observing rules of netiquette. They also learn how to distinguish between fact and opinion and how to recognize bias and harmful stereotyping in online content. As Les, Mo and Lil discover, "just because it's on the Internet, doesn't mean it's true."

Media Awareness Network

Allies and Aliens[94]

Allies and Aliens aims to teach students the basics about bias, stereotyping, misinformation and propaganda techniques, on the Internet and in other media. It also helps students to understand the difference between fact and opinion, and the importance of authenticating online information. The challenges of this module will ultimately sharpen students' research skills as well as their critical thinking skills. The experience will teach them to recognize viewpoint, bias, and manipulation – online and off.

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93. http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/games/cybersense_nonsense/index.cfm
94. http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/games/allies_aliens/teachers.cfm

The teachers' notes are detailed and provide useful links to relevant information or organisations as well as some background. The website also contains an excellent and well-organised briefing on Online Hate, including details of the relation with free speech, the law, information about recruitment of young people by hate groups, and some suggestions on how to protect young people[95].
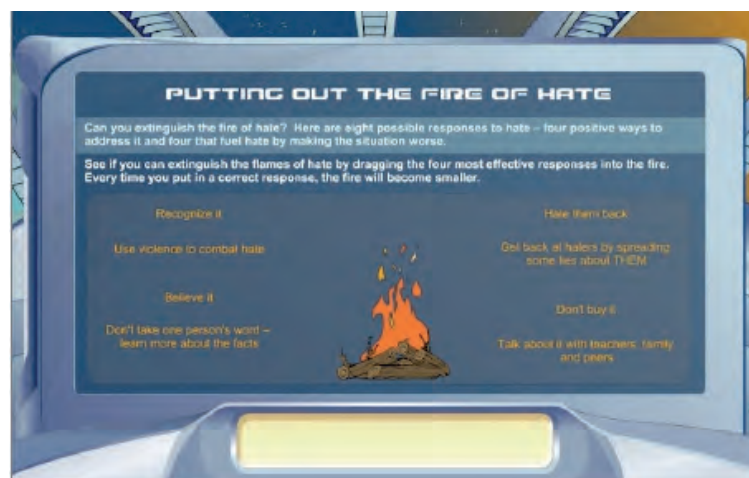
Critical thinking

MNet's recognition of the need to develop critical thinking skills and educate young people on how to navigate the sea of opinions, information and misinformation which can be found online is shared by academics, thinkers, journalists and educationalists. There are, of course, various separate projects designed to develop critical thinking skills, and many if not most resources which are directed more generally at the core issues underlying cyberhate[96] will employ interactive methods and will be designed to question stereotypes or encourage broader thinking skills. However, relatively few organisations working on cyberhate appeared to include it explicitly in lesson plans or resources for young people[97].

The need for young people to approach material on the internet in a critical manner, to explore the various resources dealing with particular issues, and to arrive at judgements based on an assessment of both sides is backed up by the results of the survey carried out among children in the UK (mentioned under Section 4.1.1):

> **UK Children Go Online[98]: Surveying the experience of young people and their parents**
>
> – Four in ten pupils aged 9-19 trust most of the information on the internet, half trust some of it, and only 1 in 10 are sceptical about much information online. Only 33% of 9-19 year olds who go online at least once a week say that they have been told how to judge the reliability of online information...
>
> – Only 33% of 9-19 year-olds who go online at least once a week say that they have been told how to judge the reliability of online information
>
> Livingstone, S and Bober, M 2004. London: LSE Research Online

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95. http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/online_hate/index.cfm

96. For example, the Council of Europe's resources on Human Rights, Anti-Racism, Intercultural Dialogue, and many of the resources developed nationally or internationally to cover such themes

97. ADL has developed a resource at http://www.adl.org/education/hate_internet.asp,

98. Livingstone, Sonia and Bober, Magdalena (2004) UK children go online: surveying the experiences of young people and their parents. 2. London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK. http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/395/

internet safety

There are a vast number of resources to assist children in staying safe online. Most concentrate on not giving out personal details, being cautious about trusting strangers online, not arranging meetings with contacts made on the internet – and so on. Organisations working on the problem tend to have interactive resources for different age groups, resources for teachers and for parents.

The Slovenian "Safer Internet Plus Programme"

From the site SAFE-SI:

This was an extensive 2-year project (2008 – 2010) which aimed "to promote safer use of the Internet and new online technologies, particularly for children, and to fight against illegal content and content unwanted by the end-user…" The programme consisted of a large number of strands, mostly based around a website (http://www.safe.si) with information for children of different ages, games, videos, and educational resources. But the organization also ran an imaginative public awareness campaign to promote the website, using various different methods – including advertisements in national magazines, a SAFE-SI banner available in the 2009 wall calendar of National Geographic Junior, distribution of materials through shopping centres, cinemas, schools and libraries; a toilets poster campaign, participation at various events – including a national conference – and various workshops and competitions.

Given such an interesting and wide-ranging awareness raising campaign, it is perhaps surprising that the total number of phone calls and questions submitted through the website was so low: just 91 people in the second year of the project – and a third of the callers were adults. It is difficult to assess the reasons for this without knowledge of the language but the website does appear to be fairly content heavy, and many of the resources are either pages of text or are more likely to appeal (in design terms) to much younger users. For older children, much of the attraction of the internet lies in more youth-oriented design and content which is not obviously meant to be "teaching" them.

Top 10 tips

News

10 things that I must know about Internet safety
1. I never give out personal information about me, my family and friends when I go online.
2. I always ask my parents before I download Internet files, buy in online shop or join the competition on the Internet.
3. When I use the Internet I respect his rules everywhere: at home, school and my friends house.
4. I always show Internet content that makes me uncomfortable to my parents or other adults.
5. I don't mention and show violence and sex websites to my friends.
6. I never arrange a face-to-face meeting with my Internet friend, without telling my parents.
7. My password is a secret for everyone, also for my friends! Occasionally I change it.
8. Occasionally I explain my parents, what I do online.
9. I behave friendly and honestly to other people on the Internet.
10. Time that I spend online costs money, therefore I use Internet economically.

Spletno mesto Safe.si poganja SispletCMS, oblikovna zasnova Parsek Interactive
Projekt SAFE-SI, info@safe.si
The project participants are solely responsible for the content of this website. It does not represent the opinion of the European Commission and the European Commission is not responsible for any use might be made of data appearing on the website.

Other initiatives:

Videos

The Canadian Stop Racism and Hate Collective has an excellent collection of videos – of interest to adults and children alike – including an interview with a former member of the Final Solution Skins, Charlie Chaplin's "The Great Dictator", "Hitler is informed his application to join the BNP has been rejected", a documentary on how young women are recruited into hate groups, featuring one who found the courage to leave – and others. The site itself is not designed to appeal directly to young people – it is more a resource centre where educators and others might identify useful material. However, this appears to be fairly typical among organisations dealing with these issues.

Flashboy memory cards game

The Bulgarian organisation "The Applied Research and Communications Fund" (ARC Fund[99]) has produced a series of flash cards for young people to remind them of basic safety rules:

Target audience: Children 7-16 years

Resource type and Intended use: Game for playing at home with or without parent supervision

Format: 36 cards in a small cardboard box 5.5 X 5.5 X 5.5 cm

Resource description: The game aims to promote the safer Internet Helpline. On each card an online safety rule is written. The cards display the following characters: small girl, small boy, Flashboy – defender of children online and symbol of the Safer Internet Centre, Spammies – bad characters doing wrong things online.

Journalists

Racism and bigotry seeps through the media of every country – often without journalists realising it. Fairly universally throughout Europe, and even in countries with a long tradition of democracy and a "free" press, there are regular – and fairly open – attacks on asylum seekers, Muslims, the Roma population - people of "different" ethnic minorities – the LGBT community, and groups sharing different religious or political beliefs.

When the main media outlets – and political leaders, through these outlets – reinforce existing stereotypes and send the message that certain ways of thinking and speaking are "the norm" this is bound to be picked up by society – and then, of course, by online communities. Journalists can play a crucial role in dispelling such stereotypes rather than spreading them further, and some organisations – particularly in the former communist countries – have realised the importance of this.

The work conducted by the Ukrainian organisation IHRPEX in investigating hate speech among the main sources of electronic news was partly valuable for highlighting the importance of engaging journalists in the struggle against hate speech and crime. To address the issue of intolerance towards other religions, they are working further with journalists to raise awareness of different religions. There is currently little information about the specifics of the project, but there is no doubt that this is an issue where media stereotypes are rife – and part of the problem certainly lies in a lack of understanding or awareness of different world religions.

Ukraine

"The World of Faith" Project (IHRPEX)

The aim of this project of the Institute is to acquaint Ukrainian journalists and wide public with traditions, main religious holidays, and religious specifics of representatives of the largest religious communities of the world.

Our Institute is open for cooperation to representatives of all religions, confessions, and to mass media - without exceptions. Our purpose is to do so that people throughout the mass media sources would be able to learn about world religions and about how do believers live in different parts of the world.

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99. ARC Fund

A number of organisations in Georgia have also embraced the problem of hate speech among media organisations. Again, very little information seems to be available about the details of the project.

Georgia

A training was conducted for journalists on the theme of Hate Speech at Regional Television Network 9. The project partners are the Centre for Human Rights, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Internews Georgia and Association Atinati.

Aim of the project:

There is a need to define the problem of hate speech to a wide spectrum of society, and above all, to representatives of the media.

The project will include various meetings and round tables in different regions and will last 2 months.[100]

Working with the perpetrators of cyberhate

"Internet Streetworking" (Switzerland)

Switzerland has a project "Internet Streetworking" by Aktion Kinder des Holocaust (Action by Children of the Holocaust) which contacts the authors of pro-nazi or anti-Semitic statements.[101]

Projects which attempt to address perpetrators of hate speech directly are both bold and innovative – but clearly contain their own risks, particularly if young people were to become involved. However, there is evidence that many perpetrators of hate speech thrive on the lack of confrontation and the feeling of security within an online community which shares their views. The advantages of confronting such individuals or their communities directly lie partly in the potential to put the opposite view to others who may not have been aware of it; and partly in the fact that "exposing" ignorance or bias can help to remove the feeling of security, assurance and control which is often a key motivator for those who engage in undermining or abusing others. When effective, such a strategy has the potential to address some of the underlying factors behind hate speech – in a way that, for example, simply blocking a user or site can never do.

Young people and cyber-hate in Belgium

The Centre considers three possible courses of action, depending on the severity of the material.

– In the case of lighter forms of discriminatory expressions it confronts young perpetrators with their behaviour and informs of the possible consequences of hateful actions of this kind. The aim is to remove the disputed expression. If necessary this is done with the intervention of the Internet service provider.

– In more serious or repeated cases the Centre tries attempts to redress the situation through mediation and deliberation. By doing so, the Centre hopes to make young people more aware of what racism or discrimination really means to people who are confronted with it.

– Young people's talents can also be used to achieve positive results. In one case the rehabilitation consisted of young people having to help develop a website for a local anti-racism contact point.

http://www.diversiteit.be

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100. http://www.akhtskha.net/news/v_regionalnoj_telekompanii_9_kanal_proshel_trening_dlja_zhurnalistov_pod_nazvaniem_jazyk_nenavisti/2011-09-26-1209

101. Weber, op cit

A further example of confronting perpetrators – a Facebook page designed to "Wipeout Homophobia" can be found in the section on Victim Support and Community Building.

Mass messaging

Two small-scale examples of combating racism through the use of twitter deserve mention – partly for the unusual approach adopted by each. Both raise a number of questions relating to the ethical standards which may apply even to anti-racist projects.

The first initiative identified is a computer programme designed to hunt out racist tweets and retweet them, with a "racist!" flag. This is of interest partly in light of increasing technological possibilities and the increasing use of such methods by large corporate or political actors. But it also raises associated questions about the ethics – or the wisdom – of using computer-generated content which masquerades as a *human* reaction. This may be something it is necessary for the project to explore.

"Hello there, Racist!"

What is a bot? A robot; A piece of software designed to complete a minor but repetitive task automatically and on command.

The task of the Racist Bot is to find tweets including the term "Nigger" and "Nigga" and call the author out for whom they are, a racist. These two terms are not owned by any group of people or persons.

More words will be added as the Racist Bot advances its project. If you want to contribute to ending racism, contact @router on twitter for more information.

Sincerely,
Racist Bot, http://racistbot.tumblr.com

The second initiative is part of a series of projects undertaken by the American artist, Nate Hill, to bring out the absurdity of racism. The "White Smell Bot Vaccine" is a twitter account which retweets *black* racist comments about whites – focussing on the particular stereotype that "whites smell". The other initiatives by Hill are equally unexpected – and sometimes difficult to fathom. Hill's

interest is in racism against blacks, but he uses black racial prejudice on an issue which seems, to many at least, small, faintly absurd, and clearly not the main negative stereotype, in order to focus minds on the issue of racism generally. The question of whether, or to what extent; minority groups or groups which are themselves the victims of racism, may hold racist views – and whether these could be an issue for the project – might usefully be explored. Of perhaps more importance, is the question of whether *these* views may have originated partly as a defensive mechanism against their own victimisation.

White Smell Bot Vaccine

Ages 6+

Synthesized: September 2011

White Smell Bot is a twitter page. Twice daily, it retweets comments about how white people smell crafting a racist experience for kids as young as age 6. After all, insulting each other is part of being a kid. Kids shout, "Butt breath!" while White Smell Bot tweets, "White ppl breath smell like evaporated milk!" They are quite similar. As an adult, we recommend you read this twitter feed with your child. After being inoculated by this racist experience (with your guidance), your child will receive a safe exposure to the germ of racism, and learn to be repulsed when they encounter "real" racism in the future.

http://natehillisnuts.com/home/white-smell-bot/

Meetings and conferences

Meetings and conferences can be useful forums for discussing strategy, comparing results, outlining problems and sharing different expertise or approaches. A number of organisations have organised one-off meetings to look at the issue but it is not always obvious (perhaps because it was not obvious from the meeting!) where efforts are taken after this. One difficulty in assessing the effectiveness of such meetings is that detailed reports of their discussions and conclusions are rarely available.

> As part of a greater initiative to address the problem, face to face meetings can be invaluable. The annual conferences and other meetings organised by INACH are undoubtedly useful forums for the participants – and since members of the organisation are all focussed on the same issue, have the potential to move forward initiatives in different countries or regions.
>
> A two-day Global Summit on Internet Hate held at the French embassy in Washington, D.C., recently gathered experts from around the world to discuss the challenges and possible solutions to online hate. The event, hosted by INACH and its U.S. constituent, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), touched on legal issues, public-private partnerships, and the global nature of the Internet.
>
> "The purpose of INACH and its annual convention is to have this international cooperation that allows for sharing of knowledge, exchanging best practices, and trying to coordinate measures against hate speech," says Deborah Lauter, director of civil rights for the ADL. "So just bringing all these people from different countries together who are addressing this topic, in and of itself, is one of the goals of this conference," she says[102].

Victim support and community building

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there appear to be very few organisations which offer support specifically to individuals who have been victims of hate speech. The matter is often different for hate crime victims, and support lines for people who have suffered abuse will normally address racism or intolerance in addition to other forms. However, the emphasis of most organisations appears to be to collect the information, to act on it (if necessary) themselves, but rarely to assist or empower those who have experienced the abuse.

Two interesting initiatives are the Centre for Cyber Counselling in India, described below, and an apparently unique initiative by an individual who has decided to confront the issue of homophobia on Facebook directly.

Centre for Cyber Victim Counselling (India)

– We counsel persons who are either a victim in the social networking websites, or a victim of cyber harassment via email or chat rooms or offending websites. We cater the needs of all cyber victims including men, women and children.

– As cyber law experts we will also guide you to understand the present Indian law regarding your case. If you need to go to the police or the court, you may provide our "help" as "evidences" through your lawyer. However, you must ask for our permission for reusing our "solutions" even when you are taking them to the courts.

http://www.cybervictims.org

The site "Wipeout Homophobia on Facebook[103]" is best described in the author's own words:

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102. http://www.securitymanagement.com/article/internet-hate-tough-problem-combat-005259

103. www.WHOF.net

Wipeout Homophobia On Facebook

WHOF, all started on the 9th May 2010. During a search for a gay group I found two hate pages. They only had a few members , but all I could think was what if one of my family found this page and read the hate speech.

I decided to "report" both pages. Hate speech is illegal in most of the free world and is also against Facebook's own terms of use.

I sent links to the pages to some friends so they too could report them, they replied with links to others. I thought that rather than 30 of us sending each other messages, I would collate the links on one Facebook page. An hour later there were hundreds of members and by the end of the day a thousand had joined.

WHOF has become a huge gathering of LGBT support from all over the world. We educate each other. We have a lot of "straight" supporters who learn a lot about us too. This is community engagement, resource sharing, discussion, encouragement, on a global scale.

The site is both empowering and amusing. "Kel" responds to the numerous examples of hate mail received – and many are to a high degree abusive and obscene – with confidence and humour. There is no obvious evidence to suggest that his correspondents are transformed in the process, but their abuse is deflected and defused, supporters flock to the site, and as he says himself, many who might have previously been uncertain, have "learnt a lot" as a result. The "command and control" is undoubtedly on his side but it encompasses not only him individually, but also the thousands of members of his "community".

Public campaigns

Since a separate paper will address this area in detail, it is dealt with only briefly below. The majority of campaigns which we have identified are designed primarily to promote public awareness – more often than not, on internet safety. Other campaigns – and there are many – are designed to address racism or targeting of particular groups.

Two initiatives which address the issue of cyberhate specifically are worth mentioning.

The Stop Racism and Hate Collective (http://www.stopracism.ca) runs various online campaigns, mainly asking users to contact particular sites requesting that they take action to remove - or disassociate themselves from - sites with harmful content. One campaign asks users to contact Planet.com, which hosts a number of racist websites; another is designed to stop abusive content on YouTube. The organisation calls for users to email YouTube requesting that they implement word filtering on user names, and block IP addresses by offending users.

Stopping abusive content on YouTube

Please help us by demanding that YT implement: (1) word filtering, (2) IP blocking and, (3) blocking commonly used proxies and anonymous internet services.

Word Filtering

Word filtering would help stop offensive content and harassment by blocking words like "nigger", "faggot", "jewwatch" and "1488,88" in the creation of channels and user names on YT.

User Names

A simple word filter would also prevent the use of user names like niggerstinkofshit18 and JewwatchFrance and JEWWATCH7 and HAHAimbackjews1488, 14USA88, MrNiggerHunter1488x.

Stop Racism and Hate Collective http://www.stopracism.ca

Irrespective of the views about the effectiveness of filtering offensive content or blocking particular sites – or the arguments relating to freedom of expression – a campaign of this sort might be more effective if some information was provided about successes or about the number of people who have been engaged. In fairness, these "campaigns" are perhaps not designed to be a key focus of the organisation, which is more directed towards providing information about the problem. A campaign of some sort on these informational sites is however likely to engage more people because it appears to indicate a way in which they can help to address the problem. In doing so, it might even be used to raise awareness of the issue itself.

Changing legislation

A working group on the problem of hate speech has been set up by the organisation "Multiethnic Georgia" (Mnogonatsionalnaya Gruzia) and a number of NGOs. The aim of the working group is to lobby for an amendment in the Criminal Code to make state representatives culpable for examples of hate speech. The organisations will also conduct an informational campaign to raise awareness about the initiative.

Anita Mirzoeva, Director of the organisation Multiethnic Georgia explained:

"This process will adopt a dual strategy. We will prepare an amendment to the Criminal Code with the aim of getting it adopted by Parliament. Secondly, we aim to mobilise public opinion to take an active part in this process"

Mirzoeva believes that the main objective of this campaign is to meet obligations under Council of Europe membership, in particular, relating to the unacceptability of hate speech.

http://www.media.ge/ru/content/osveshchenie_etnicheskih

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international and regional initiatives

These are worth mentioning briefly both for the expertise they have built up and because they consist of member organisations in different countries, all of which are working at a national level to address the problem of abuse online. Only one of the four organisations addresses cyberhate exclusively but most of the others include this as one issue in a wider remit of promoting online safety.

iNACH

The International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH) works to "counter and address all forms of online discrimination" through a network of 18 organizations from different parts of the globe'. They have done significant and valuable work in collecting information from different countries, facilitating meetings and encouraging sharing of information as well as offering their own expertise on the issue of cyberhate.

> **INACH: Mission**
>
> Unite and empower organizations to promote respect, responsibility and citizenship on the Internet through countering cyber hate and raising awareness about online discrimination. INACH reinforces Human Rights and mutual respect for the rights and reputations of all Internet users.

insafe[104]

> Insafe is a European network of Awareness Centres promoting safe, responsible use of the Internet and mobile devices to young people.
>
> The Insafe network provides a range of information, awareness-raising tools and educational resources on issues relating to online safety for parents and teachers, and children and young people.
>
> Insafe unites national Awareness Centres in 27 countries in the European Union (EU), Norway, Iceland and Russia.
>
> Each centre comprises between one and four organisations who work together to raise internet safety awareness at a national level. Centres typically work with a broad range of partners such as schools, libraries, youth groups and industry to promote good e-safety practices.
>
> Networking at a European level allows centres to share information, showcase successful initiatives and draw on lessons learned.

Enacso[105]

> The European NGO Alliance for Child Safety Online is a network consisting of 22 children's rights NGOs from across the EU working for a safer online environment for children.
>
> Our Mission is to promote and support actions at national, European and international level to protect children and promote their rights in relation to the Internet and new technologies.
>
> Our work is based on the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the Optional Protocol to the UNCRC on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.

104. http://www.saferinternet.org
105. http://www.enacso.eu

Activities

eNACSO provides opportunities for and lead on the exchange of information, strategies, and approaches between the network members and partners through meetings, conferences, email and internet.

eNACSO develops and adopt policy positions, recommendations and briefings based on the results of this exchange.

eNACSO supports members to identify ways to influence national governments.

The network members attend national and international meetings, conferences and events to present and promote eNACSO policies and recommendations.

iNHOPE

INHOPE is the International Association of Internet Hotlines. INHOPE coordinates a network of Internet Hotlines all over the world, supporting them in responding to reports of illegal content to make the Internet safer.

Mission

To support and enhance the performance of Internet Hotlines around the World; ensuring swift action is taken in responding to reports of illegal content making the internet a safer place.

Key functions of INHOPE
  – Exchange expertise
  – Support new hotlines
  – Exchange reports
  – Interface with relevant initiatives
  – Educate and inform policy makers at the international level

Recommendations

The Council of Europe's project is different in many ways from any of the initiatives against cyberhate which we have been able to identify. Firstly because it is long enough to build in different activities and areas of work, but at the same time short enough to constitute a "campaign" in a real sense. Secondly, because a key factor of the programme involves working with young people, empowering them to be the main actors and initiators. Thirdly, because the main initiators and actors are not themselves "experts" in fighting cyberhate so they will be learning the skills and designing tactics as the programme progresses. And finally, because apart from a very few exceptions, most attempts to work on cyberhate tend to have a national rather than a regional focus.

None of these need present an obstacle – in fact, each in its own way may offer an advantage, and we consider these in more detail below. Overall, the combination of factors means that the programme will almost certainly have to find its own model.

We do not aim in the recommendations below to propose a particular way forward for the programme – except to suggest that as far as possible, the young people who will be running and organising the work should be consulted on their experience of the problem, their preferred "solution" and approach. One study that really does seem to be missing is a detailed review of young people's perceptions of hate speech online. It would be useful to obtain a clearer picture of the following questions, at least:

- What do young people regard as (unacceptable) forms of hate speech – hate speech that they believe should not be available online at all?

- What is their experience of such forms of hate speech (how often do they encounter it, in which forms, against which targets)?

- Do they have personal acquaintance with perpetrators of hate speech online? If so, how do they understand the motivation of such individuals?

- How do they normally respond when they come across examples of hate speech online?

- How do they view the tension between freedom of expression and the need to protect certain sectors of the population?

- Would they support more censorship, punishment of perpetrators, removal of abuse (and for what level of abuse)?

- How, in practical terms, do they think the problem could best be addressed?

- What do *they* feel able to do – as individuals and as a group?

The following 3 recommendations follow from the need to explore and understand the ramifications of these questions:

> **Recommendation 1:**
>
> We would recommend that any programme directed towards young people and carried out by them would first of all obtain a clearer picture of *young people's* perception of these issues.
>
> **Recommendation 2:**
>
> Given the differences of opinion on many of the questions relating to hate speech, we would recommend that the group selected to lead the programme needs to familiarise itself early on with the range of content covered by the term and to explore in depth any areas where there are significant differences of opinion. For some aspects of the work, a form of consensus within the group may need to be found – even if this consists in an agreement to respect different cultural attitudes or different geographical / societal needs across the range of countries represented.
>
> **Recommendation 3:**
>
> Given the importance of balancing freedom of expression with the standards of the European Court, the group who will lead the project should be well acquainted early on with these standards, as well as with particular issues and dilemmas surrounding the idea of freedom of expression.

The four challenges

In this section, we attempt to draw out some of the possible approaches, given the four issues raised in the first paragraph and points made throughout this paper about existing projects.

Length of the programme

Most initiatives conducted by organisations which do not work exclusively on cyberhate are relatively short term: a single workshop, a few educational resources – to be used as part of a wider programme – a meeting of experts, and so on. The matter is of course different for organisations with an infrastructure, paid staff members, a bank of expertise, and a long-term focus on the problem. This campaign sits between the two.

Medium length projects – such as this one – may achieve measurable results in the given time if the focus of the work is in such specific areas as effecting legislative change, removing a given number of websites from the internet, building a group of supporters of a particular size, or simply raising general awareness of the problem. Although such results may be significant, they are unlikely to affect the underlying causes of cyberhate – and may also be unlikely to affect substantially the "amount of hate" circulating the internet.

We believe that in the time available, there ought to be the possibility to build up a group of engaged young people, skilled in the necessary areas, and committed to some degree to continuing the work after the project end. Such a commitment, backed up by an established group of supporters (online or offline) would be more likely to lead to substantial change in the longer term. If this is also supported by a website presence with the potential to appeal to others "outside the circle", there is great potential to build a bigger movement – which could both be more effective in raising general public awareness, and could provide a strong support community for those who have been or are likely to be targeted by hate crime.

Two years is also sufficient to begin, and progress some way towards, empowering and enabling a group of young people to carry out educational activities – again, online or offline. This might be in the form of facilitating online discussions – on given themes relevant to the subject area, on controversial articles, or even on views about particular examples of hate speech. We feel that any "educational" work should probably be as "real" as possible and should ideally aim to look as much like a normal internet discussion, rather than a "teaching resource". Although it may be a more risky strategy, specific examples of racism, for example, might be more engaging and provoke

more interest from outside the group's "natural" supporters than, for example, a general discussion on the nature of, or reasons for, racism generally.

One element that may be necessary, given the voluntary nature of the young people's involvement, is to begin building a second tier of young people, possibly to be engaged more actively in the second year of the project, but who will be able to assist in taking the work forward if the Council of Europe support is not continued at the project end.

The next 3 recommendations are designed to help the work acquire its own momentum so that the project does not die out when the Council of Europe's involvement ceases:

Recommendation 4:

The initial group should be selected on the basis of a proven commitment to some of the issues central to hate speech (anti-racism, human rights, freedom of expression etc.). Ideally, they should already be able to link up with existing networks working on these issues in their own country.

Recommendation 5:

Sustainability of the project can be helped by building a strong and attractive web presence which is likely to draw others in – possibly through the provision of useful online resources but perhaps more importantly, by providing a space for discussion of real issues of concern to young people

Recommendation 6:

A second group of young people could be brought in for the second year of the project - partly to support those already involved, partly to learn from the first group who might be re-engaged by taking on a mentoring role, and partly to take the place of any members of the first group who have moved on or are likely to do so.

Young people as actors and initiators

If the young people are able, as far as possible, to lead the process – to engage in a project which they have helped to design – this could be both a completely new approach to addressing cyberhate, and potentially very powerful. Young people are now "Web 2.0" generation: those who use the internet are mostly familiar with its different aspects and fully able to make use of them. They are more likely to recognise the type of site which will attract their peers, the type of issues which concern their peers, and may be able to speak from first hand experience about the type of hate speech or hate sites commonly encountered by people of their generation.

A second area where the age group of the members may be relevant relates to the actual content of hate speech. Some members of the group may not be fully aware of the worst examples – and the worst examples have the capacity to shock and upset. A decision may need to be made about the extent to which young people need to be familiar beforehand with the "worst examples": it is our view that this may be an advantage in order for them to appreciate the urgency of the problem (and some will investigate them anyway). Such an approach would clearly require preparation and support for the group – and the support will need to be ongoing.

A different focus might target not the very worst sites – not the comments, videos and discussions which would call for removal under most interpretations of freedom of expression – but the kind of comments which one encounters daily in the real world and the virtual, and which the internet community perhaps needs to learn to negotiate. The project could take as its key aim bringing further towards tolerance and understanding those who *do* perceive certain groups according to certain negative stereotypes, but who have no real desire to cause deep distress, or to recruit others to the cause. The risk even in such a strategy is that a successful website presence which addresses stereotypes against Muslims, LGBT, asylum seekers, or other groups frequently targeted may anyway attract extreme elements.

Whatever the decision about the key target group, part of the training for the young people will need to assist them to deal with such extreme elements – either by learning to ignore them, or to engage, in ways which does not lead to escalation; and certainly, to be prepared for such an eventuality and to know where to turn for assistance and support.

One of the dilemmas of the project consists in weighing up the advantages of a slightly more sober website presence – which may not be so attractive to young people not already interested in the problem; with, on the other hand, a "free" zone which experiments with genuine freedom of expression, allowing all but those who could cause serious damage to individuals involved.

The next 3 recommendations are more vague, and the details will need to be worked out by the group itself:

Recommendation 7:

An initial mapping of the different skills, networks, personal resources and other relevant factors within the group will help members to see whether there are particular individuals who could more effectively play certain roles – for example, building a website presence, designing or identifying resources, playing a supporting role, and so on. The choice of strategy will also depend on the available skills and resources within the group.

Recommendation 8:

The group should be given the time and space to consider different approaches to the problem – with the associated dangers – and make its own selection, based on what members think is most effective, what they believe is possible in the time available, where their strengths and weaknesses lie, and the particular context in which each is working.

Recommendation 9:

A support system should be put in place to assist members of the group who might be troubled by some of the comments and sites they will inevitably come across, and who may experience difficulties in their own country as a result of the work.

"Non-expert" actors and initiators

Young people are experts in young people. In this respect, and for this project, they have an advantage over "professional" educators or experts on cyberhate. Nevertheless, there are areas where the young people who are to lead the project will need greater skills or understanding of certain issues. A number have already been mentioned – for example, they will need to understand the concept and the limits of freedom of expression, and they will need to be prepared to deal with upsetting or deeply shocking comments.

Depending on the range of issues to be covered – for example, whether the individuals or the project as a whole decide to concentrate on Islamophobia, disablism, homophobia, or some other specific target group – they will need to have arguments and information about these issues. Researching the issues could form part of the project, and even identifying examples of (mild?) hate speech, and practising among themselves disputing or refuting negative content.

More difficult, but of great importance, is that the young people begin to explore the numerous societal and psychological factors which drive not only hate speech online, but racist attitudes generally. In order to engage effectively with those who genuinely believe in the superiority or greater importance of certain groups, arguments and resources used in the course of the project will need to try to address the underlying reasons and motivations.

It is perhaps controversial to admit it, but it is not uncommon to find groups or individuals working on racism or in the field of human rights who, when tested, may themselves display attitudes which admit the inferiority of certain habits, cultures, religious beliefs, or nationalities. Nationalism can,

after all, be dangerously close to racism. It would therefore be useful to explore some of these areas with the young people.

As a grounding for such a discussion, and in order for them to better understand the importance of two issues central to any efforts to combat hate speech – the concepts of equality and freedom of expression – a good understanding of human rights generally is essential. This would put the two concepts into context and would also help the group to measure any underlying prejudices members might have against internationally agreed standards. Human rights will also provide a useful framework both for discussion within the group, and for any resources or discussion which will take place later outside the group.

Finally, we have already seen that those most anxious to promote particular messages, if they have the technology or the financial backing to do so, are increasingly turning to highly sophisticated programming tools to spread their message and manufacture the illusion of significant public backing for their cause. Despite familiarity with *using* the internet, a very small proportion of young people – and of the population as a whole - are fully aware of the technologies behind the techniques they use everyday. A broad understanding of the technical and technological features of the internet would help the group to understand the "battlefield", enable them to exploit (in the positive sense) its possibilities, and possibly to "know their enemy". If powerful racist groups begin to use such methods to propagate their message – or if they are already doing so – the project team may need to think about how racist robots, driven by racist progammers, can be most effectively addressed.

> **Recommendation 10:**
>
> The group should begin to build up a bank of useful resources – both to inform their own thinking and to use with wider audiences. These could be in the form of educational resources which could be used within the framework of the project, but could also include a set of counter-arguments, useful statistics, "mythbusting" articles or facts which could be deployed when discussing issues with groups or individuals outside the project circle.
>
> **Recommendation 11:**
>
> The group should be given the opportunity to explore the reasons behind racist beliefs and to test their own beliefs and attitudes. This will also assist them in engaging with those outside the project who display either mild or strongly based racist prejudice.
>
> **Recommendation 12:**
>
> The group should have a good understanding of the human rights framework, including national, regional and international standards.
>
> **Recommendation 13:**
>
> The group should be acquainted with the technical and technological possibilities that the internet provides – and should ideally be given an understanding of the methods employed by those at the forefront of the propaganda game. A basic understanding of issues such as "data mining", privacy, search engines and the way that sites such as Facebook, Google, Youtube – and many governments - gather information about their users for their own commercial ends would also be desirable, if only to offer some basic protection for those members of the group who are not aware of this. This may be particularly important for representatives of countries where the internet is monitored by the government itself.

The regional factor

We have already noted that both target groups and legislation concerning hate speech differs substantially from one country to another. So too do perceptions about freedom of expression. It is highly likely that content which has a national focus is more likely to engage outside users, but

this may raise problems from a language point of view if the number involved in each country is not substantial enough to be able to support the work. It may be more realistic to select issues or target groups which are throughout Europe targeted by hate groups – for example, asylum seekers, Muslims, LGBT. This would also have the advantage of limiting the range of issues covered, which may mean a more focussed approach.

There should almost certainly be a central website – ideally with 2 or 3 working languages – but if representatives from countries with other languages felt able to resource and service sections of the site in their own language this would obviously be an advantage. Since this may not always be possible, and it would be a great loss only to engage speakers of non-native languages, the website work should be backed up by work carried out off-line in local communities. Educational work conducted face-to-face is almost inevitably more powerful than the anonymity of the internet and the same underlying causes of hate speech can probably be more effectively addressed by engaging with people on a personal level. Such offline work could feed into discussions on the central website and may also be a way of stimulating interest in the site itself. It may also be a means to draw in new members to support the local work and become more engaged in the project generally.

Recommendation 14:

If it is possible to identify particular groups which are targets of hate speech across all countries represented, we believe this would provide a more focussed campaign. However, individual members of the group may feel this is too limiting or not the key priority in their region – and in such a case the group itself may wish not to limit the target group.

Recommendation 15:

An English language version of the website is probably essential. As far as possible, discussions and resources should be available in other languages.

Recommendation 16:

An online presence backed up by awareness-raising work offline could help to spread the word about the issues, and about the online initiative. Schools or youth groups could be involved in such work and working with Compass – or other materials available in multiple languages - at local level and feeding the results back to the central website might provide some coherence between different initiatives in the members' countries.

Recommendation 17:

The project could lead towards a more formal campaign at European level in the second year. This might be along the lines adopted by most organisations working on cyberhate: to identify target hosts or sites with unacceptable content and aim to remove the worst material (or the site). But a campaign might also be run along the lines of encouraging young people, in all encounters with abusive material, to take some action – whether, again, reporting the site, or responding to the content, or, for example, using humour, photo or video-montage to defuse it.

Mapping study on
campaigns against hate-speech online

"The real art of conversation is not only to say the right thing at the right time, but to leave unsaid the wrong thing at the tempting moment."

Dorothy Nevill

László Földi

Hate-speech in general

What is hate-speech?

Hatred (or hate) is a deep and emotional extreme dislike, directed against a certain object or class of objects. The objects of such hatred can vary widely, from inanimate objects to animals, oneself or other people, entire groups of people, people in general, existence, or the whole world. Though not necessarily, hatred is often associated with feelings of anger and disposition towards hostility against the objects of hatred. Hatred can become very driven. Actions after a lingering thought are not uncommon upon people or oneself. Hatred can result in extreme behaviour such as violence, murder, and war. (Wikipedia on "hate")

It is clear that hate is an integral part of human nature. Philosophers have offered many influential definitions of hatred.

René Descartes viewed hate as awareness that something is bad combined with an urge to withdraw from it. Baruch Spinoza defined hate as a type of pain that is due to an external cause. Aristotle viewed hate as a desire for the annihilation of an object that is incurable by time. David Hume believed that hate is an irreducible feeling that is not definable at all. Sigmund Freud defined hate as an ego state that wishes to destroy the source of its unhappiness. More recently, the Penguin Dictionary of Psychology defines hate as a "deep, enduring, intense emotion expressing animosity, anger, and hostility towards a person, group, or object." Because hatred is believed to be long-lasting, many psychologists consider it to be more of an attitude or disposition than a temporary emotional state.

"Kind words can warm for three winters, while harsh words can chill even in the heat of summer." Chinese proverb

"By swallowing evil words unsaid, no one has ever harmed his stomach."
Sir Winston Churchill

"Words have a longer life than deeds".
Pindar, ancient Greek poet

"Perhaps you will forget tomorrow the kind words you say today, but the recipient may cherish them for a lifetime."
Dale Carnegie, American writer

Words are very powerful and when we talk about hate speech or "love" speech we have to understand that words are deeds that have a clear effect on the world, not only on the listener but on the whole wisdom of understanding life. Therefore words we speak or write can have a profound effect on the people they reach. In light of the real power of words, expressing hate by words is very dangerous weapon for which we are all responsible. So hate-speech as such must be considered as an aggressive deed to disparage a person or a group on the basis of some characteristic that is arbitrary selected by the speaker. The most usual characteristics based on which hate-speech is

targeted: race, colour, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, social background, or other characteristic.

Hate-speech and Human Rights

It has been a long legal, political and philosophical debate about the conflicting Human Rights, where at the end usually one overrules the other or a serious compromise is born to serve both. It can be argued that in the everlasting conflict of values free speech is important, but it is not the only value and it does not have priority over all other considerations. Those other rights, which are not less fundamental than the right to free speech, include - for instance - the right to live without fear and intimidation, the right to dignity (both on the personal and on the group level) and the right to be a member of society on an equal footing with others, without suffering discrimination and exclusion. There are several attempts to create a kind of logic among the different Rights but at the end of the day one cannot be more important than the other.

Due to the history of wars and conflicts hate-crime is firstly connected to racism.

The conclusion drawn from the European historical experience is unambiguous regarding the spreading of racist views which led to the Holocaust. It must be emphasized that racist views are not just like any other views present in society to be reflected in the media. Racism is not just an opinion, but a deadly poison responsible for death and suffering. Racism is not a view, it is a crime. It is the media which shapes our perception of the social world. It is the field of a battle for cultural hegemony, a battle waged by racists against democratic society. It is a matter of professional ethics not to give a free platform to racist and extreme-right organizations. We must not let the media become tools of racist propaganda. The example of the former Yugoslavia illustrates yet again that incitement to ethnic hatred can have a deadly effect still today. All over Europe everyday racist violence is accompanied and preceded by racist speech.

(2007. Rafal Pankowski Never Again Association and Collegium Civitas, Poland)

Today, almost nobody questions the fact that hate speech is a dangerous phenomenon. However, the question of how to counteract it is still much debated. Human Rights are very solid basis for looking into hate-speech, however no one and no institution has yet come up with a clear-cut solution to the increasingly spreading hate in the civilized world.

Hate speech and the law

In law, hate speech is any speech, gesture or conduct, writing, or display which is forbidden because it may incite violence or prejudicial action against or by a protected individual or group, or because it disparages or intimidates a protected individual or group. The law may identify a protected individual or a protected group by race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity,http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hate_speech - cite_note-2 or other characteristic.

(Wikipedia on hate-speech)

If we take a look at the most important international institutions we already see clear careful attitude to the problem of hate-speech. International organisations are waiting for a more solid consensus among its member in advocating a very strong legal fight against hate-speech. At the same time it is also clear that among international legal experts there is an evolving consensus that hate speech needs to be prohibited by law, and that such prohibitions override or are irrelevant to guarantees of freedom of expression.

United Nations

The http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hate_speech - cite_note-4International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (New York, 16 December 1966.) states that "any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law". Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), Article 4:

States undertake inter alia to declare an offence punishable by law "all dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, incitement to racial discrimination acts of violence or incitement to such acts against any race or group of persons of another colour or ethnic origin", and to declare illegal and prohibit organizations which promote and incite racial discrimination. (www.un.org)

Council of Europe

The First Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime of 2003 concerning the criminalization of acts of a racist or xenophobic nature committed through computer systems, provides that State Parties shall adopt such legislative and other measures as may be necessary to establish as criminal offences under domestic law, intentional conduct including distributing, or otherwise making available, racist and xenophobic material to the public through a computer system. (www.coe.int)

European Union

Council framework decision on combating racism and xenophobia:

This framework decision of the European Union provides for the approximation of the laws and regulations of the Member States regarding offences involving racism and xenophobia. Racist and xenophobic behaviour must constitute an offence in all EU Member States and be punishable by effective, proportionate and dissuasive penalties. Racism and xenophobia means belief in race, colour, descent, religion or belief, national or ethnic origin as a factor determining aversion to individuals. Instigating, aiding, abetting or attempting to commit the above offences will also be punishable. With regard to the above racists offences, Member States must ensure that they are proportionally and seriously punishable.(www.europa.eu)

European countries

We can find different solutions in different countries. In some countries like Hungary hate-speech is not prohibited by law.

Denmark: Article 266(b) of the Danish Criminal Code criminalizes "expressing and spreading racial hatred", making it an offense to use threatening, vilifying, or insulting language intended for the general public or a wide circle of persons.

France: France's principal piece of hate speech legislation is the Press Law of 1881, in which Section 24 criminalizes incitement to racial discrimination, hatred, or violence on the basis of one's origin or membership (or non-membership) in an ethic, national, racial, or religious group. A criminal code provision likewise makes it an offense to engage in similar conduct via private communication.

The Netherlands: Articles 137(c) and 137(d) of the Dutch Criminal Code operate to prohibit making public intentional insults, as well as engaging in verbal, written, or illustrated incitement to hatred, on account of one's race, religion, sexual orientation, or personal convictions.

United Kingdom: 18(1) of the Public Order Act of 1986 states that "a person who uses threatening, abusive, or insulting words or behaviour, or displays any written material which is threatening, abusive, or insulting, is guilty of an offence if: a) he intends to thereby stir up racial hatred, or; b) having regard to all the circumstances racial hatred is likely to be stirred up thereby."

Civil society and hate speech

In some European countries, where civil society is stronger, informal exclusion and social rejection works better without an excessive use of the law. However in most countries, especially in the new democracies, civil society is not strong enough to confront hate speech without the support of the state.

As a matter of fact, in some cases the civil society itself has been the perpetrator of hate speech. Non-governmental organizations have good reasons to criticize governments for their hypocrisy in not implementing the existing provisions against hate speech. The new democratic governments of Europe in particular need support but they also need pressure to take adequate action against hate speech. Laws against hate speech must be observed with an active participation of governments, judicial systems as well as journalists and their professional organizations.

The conventional media is not the only means of transmitting ideas, which can be positive and constructive as well as negative and devastating. The Internet and music in particular have become vehicles for spreading the message of racial hatred, but also: anti-racism and multiculturalism. The neo-Nazi movement poisons the hearts and minds of young people through the Internet and the Nazi music industry. The mainstream media can also be blamed for outbursts of xenophobia edging on racism, e.g. strengthening negative stereotypes and stirring up anti-refugee hysteria.

International Network Against Cyberhate (INACH)

It is a foundation under Dutch Law and is seated in Amsterdam. INACH was founded in 2002 by Jugendschutz.net and Magenta Foundation, Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet. The objective of INACH is to combat discrimination on the Internet. It unites and empowers organizations to promote respect, responsibility and citizenship on the Internet through countering cyber hate and raising awareness about online discrimination. INACH reinforces Human Rights and mutual respect for the rights and reputations of all Internet users. INACH tries to reach its goals by uniting organisations fighting against cyber hate, exchanging information to enhance effectiveness of such organisations, lobbying for international legislation to combat discrimination on Internet, support groups and institutions who want to set up a complaints bureau, create awareness and promote attitude change about discrimination on the internet by giving information, education.

Overview of the latest studies on hate-speech online

Forms of hate speech online vary from static web content to dynamic interactive content. There are extremist sites where hate speech is propaganda for spreading certain extremist political, ideological or religious ideas. These are also called hate sites. These sites invite readers to believe pre-digested ideas that seem very easy to identify with in order to simplify life and social-economic problems. Most of the time these sites identify certain group of people and put them into a very negative role and blame them for different issues. These sites can be found easily for they are static, can be traced by IP address or other instruments. Even if the sites are moved to other servers or other service companies, or abroad there is a way to trace them down.

A way of encountering hate speech is in the dynamism of the Internet. The users express their opinion in different interactive channels such as blogs, content sharing hosts, forums, chat rooms. These are more difficult to trace, and due to its interpersonal feature, its private feature it is much more difficult to handle. A third and latest form of teaching hatred is games. There are games available online that demands the user to act violently against a certain group of people. It is especially dangerous because it affects young people more and more. And at early age people are much more vulnerable in being exposed to such ideas and attitudes.

Experts say that hate speech on the Internet is increasing globally due to the advent of Web 2.0 technology like video file-sharing and social networking sites. Some European countries have made certain forms of hate speech - like Nazi propaganda and Holocaust denial - a crime. Despite the legal success, experts note the ease with which anyone could relocate hateful content prosecuted in one country by reposting it to other websites hosted on servers in other countries. Another problem with using legislation to regulate the Internet is enforcement. Experts agree that part of the solution lies in working with businesses that provide access to the Internet or online applications. While the government cannot outlaw hate speech, a company has the right to establish a policy that requires users to abide by stated limits on what can be posted online. As a result of this realization, more attention is being paid to including Internet service providers and major online portals. Service providers and popular websites like YouTube have a willingness to help but are frequently overwhelmed by the volume of activity. YouTube, in fact, recently partnered with the Anti-Defamation League to launch an Abuse and Safety Centre, which includes links and resources and allows users to report content that violates YouTube's community guidelines on hate speech.

After researching the different studies and researches on the topic online hate crime I have to say that North-America is well ahead of us Europeans. There are very few researches and the legal approaches are so different in the European countries that there is no possibility to combat against the spread of extremism or hate. Hate speech does matter, because words have consequences and can lead to violence, but it seems that in Europe it is not a priority at the moment. Most of the studies that have been produced after 2000 were written in the United States or Canada.

Recent researches:

Below you can read the concluding words of 7 remarkable study in the field of hate-speech.

Peter Weinberg: A critical rhetorical analysis of selected white supremacist hate sites (Rhode Island College, USA, 2011)

Focus: Youth

Conclusions:

Once youth become involved, the hate they might be exposed to is virtually boundless; regular visitors to the forums will find that hate is impossible to avoid and ranges from the mild to the extreme. As evidenced, extreme right has not only the potential to expose youth to an devastating amount of hate via user posted content throughout the site's many forums, but the potential to act as a gateway to hate sites and organizations all over the internet as well. There is no doubt that once youth become actively involved in hate sites, they will be exposed to value sets and ideologies that at their very core are offensive, reprehensible, and horrific. Youth looking for a group to identify with will find a community of likeminded thinkers who endorse and encourage such values and who often make practicing them seem like the moral and culturally sound thing to do. Furthermore, the interactive nature of the hate sites main site forums allows users to network and connect with one another in ways never before possible. In this way, hate sites' effect on youth can carry over from the virtual world and into the real.

Youth who are seeking to connect with likeminded people in their area can find them here, and organized hate groups who are mindful of this, look to hate sites as a tool to recruit them. Several hate groups have representatives within who will often post information about their organization, including information on memberships and what it takes to join. Some of these groups are even represented within hate sites' youth forum, encouraging those who want to take their involvement to the next level to join their organization's youth group. While it is known that groups are taking these steps, their success or failure is nearly impossible to effectively track and measure. For even if a user acknowledges that they have joined as a direct result of what they have learned on the site, there is no way of knowing if this is an accurate and truthful account. What is certain is that the risk and the threat are there.

How far online hate might spill over into the real world is largely speculative; however, it is nonetheless a significant concern. In addition to an increase in hate group activity, it has been suggested that a possible correlation between online hate and real world violence may indeed exist. Several instances of violent hate crimes have been connected to online hate mongering in recent years, including the shooting that took place at the National Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. in June of 2009 (Hudson). While the association between this crime and online hate mongering is loose, other examples provide far more concrete evidence. For example, in 1998, what began as the singling out and criticism of an individual who disagreed with white supremacist values on a U.S. based hate site, ended in a far more targeted crime. Bonnie Jouhari, the employee of a U.S. fair housing organization and mother of a bi-racial child, infuriated white supremacists with her work to promote non-discriminatory housing practices and of course for being a –race traitor and procreating with a –non-white. Jouhari and her child soon became the target of directed hate speech on the site in question. Shortly after this began, Jouhari began to receive harassing phone calls at work and at home which then escalated to being followed to and from her home. This harassment went on for several years and Jouhari had to move several times as a result.

The impact that online hate speech can potentially have on youth is likely to vary on a case by case basis. Some youth are more susceptible than others and varying degrees of involvement will produce varying degrees of impact. In any case, such speech can have lasting effects and may shape the values and behaviours of recruited youth for years to come. Furthermore, the prospect of a correlation between online hate and real world violence opens up the possibility for youth

to be affected in far more sinister ways. If the trends of years past prove true in years to come, as technology advances and becomes even more widespread and as foreign hate mongers continue to seek refuge in the United States, as this research suggests is happening, the potential for hate mongers to expand their activities will likely increase, thus increasing the number of people their messages are likely to reach, and in turn, the likelihood that those messages will produce harmful effects. The research that has been conducted and the evidence that has been generated throughout this study have successfully answered the research question: the threat posed to youth by online hate sites is both significant and real. The calibre of hate that exists on these sites is horrifying, and the rhetorical analysis suggests that recruitment efforts targeted at youth are often successful.

Exposed youth are, in turn, at a high risk of being victimized by these groups in numerous ways. And while there is a lack of sufficient concrete evidence to suggest the restriction of online hate speech, which is protected under the First Amendment, the implications of this research do suggest that further scholarly research must be conducted in order to probe this threat and its potential impact on particularly susceptible youth populations. Producing evidence in order to justify governmental restriction of online hate speech should not be seen as the ultimate goal of such research, but instead, non-governmental solutions to this problem should be further explored. Such solutions might include programs designed to raise awareness, increase the effectiveness of free filtering software, and programs designed to explore the possibility of a website rating system similar to the rating systems characteristic of other forms of invasive media such as television and videogames.

Yulia A. Timofeeva: Hate Speech Online: Restricted or protected? Comparision of regulations in the United States and Germany (Central European University, Budapest, 2003)

Focus: General

Conclusions:

Hate speech on the Internet is and will be controlled to different degrees by different national authorities. However, the probability of success of national regulations is limited and the result of any regulatory efforts is inevitably influenced by the position of other participants. Several common principles of liability for unprotected messages are already recognized by many countries, including the United States and Germany. Thus, it is not a viable practice to hold Internet Service Providers (ISP) liable for transmitting a third-party's Internet content unless the ISP itself initiates the transmission. This is a fair principle from ISPs' point of view; however, it deprives the state of legal mechanisms to regulate the availability of harmful material to the users. Perhaps as compensation for that, another principle has been developed: states can expose anyone that they can exert jurisdiction over to liability, disregarding the fact that the material in question was physically put on the Internet in a territory where it may be perfectly legal, or was put on a server located in such territory. There is less agreement, however, as to questions about the content of the hateful material. Absent worldwide conformity with the United States' First Amendment as a cornerstone, hate speech will remain available on the Internet despite regulatory efforts of other countries, and its regulation will have implications for the actors on both sides. By the choice of anti-hate state policy, the availability of objectionable content to the users may be limited within a given country, but it will not be blocked out completely due to imperfect filtering technology and numerous technical opportunities of the Internet. By the choice of pro-speech state policy, there is a danger that national ISPs and users may face civil and criminal liability once they happen to get into another more restrictive country. Hate and harassment existed long before the establishment of the Internet and would continue even if the Net was heavily censored. The United States and Germany chose to fight hate speech with different means, the United States through the free and open exchange of ideas, and Germany through suppressing such speech. Indeed, there may be no single balance that would work for all cultures. At present, the international solution, though much desirable, is highly improbable due to differing views on the nature of free speech and freedom from censorship. The option left to every

country is to educate the public, to teach tolerance to and acceptance of diverse values. After all, racist speech is a mere symptom of racism.

Dr Yaman Akdeniz: Racism on the Internet (Council of Europe,Strasbourg,2010)

Focus: General

Conclusions:

The Internet has become the medium of choice for propaganda, disseminating hatred, recruitment, training, fundraising, and for communications by racist as well as terrorist organisations. Obviously there is major concern about the availability of racist content, hate-speech and terrorist propaganda on the Internet, and many governments and international organisations, including the Council of Europe, the European Union, the UN and the OSCE are in agreement that racism and manifestations of racism through the Internet should not and will not be tolerated. However, the major question that is being faced by international organisations and state-level regulators is how to regulate the flow of racist content over the Internet. The question becomes even more complex by the fact that different political, moral, cultural, historical and constitutional values exist between different states.

This undoubtedly complicates efforts to find an appropriate balance between the rights to freedom of opinion and expression and to receive and impart information and the prohibition on speech and/or activities promoting racist views and inciting violence. That balance is yet to be attained at an international level, and in today's multicultural context, striking the right balance is becoming increasingly important, but at the same time more difficult.

It has become clear during the policy discussions of the last ten years that, in particular, the United States of America opposes any regulatory effort to combat racist publications on the Internet on freedom of expression grounds based upon the values attached to the First Amendment of the US Constitution. At the same time, there are other organisations or states which regard harmonised national legislation and international agreements as the way forward. For example, ECRI believes that national legislation against racism and racial discrimination is necessary to combat these phenomena effectively. This view, supported by many member states of the Council of Europe, led to the development of an Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime, concerning the criminalisation of acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems between2001 and 2003. The US Government wholeheartedly supported the development of a cybercrime convention within the Council of Europe region and ratified the convention as an external supporter, but decided not to support or get involved with the development of the Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime. Hence, fundamental disagreements remain as to the most appropriate and effective strategy for preventing dissemination of racist messages on the Internet, including the need to adopt regulatory measures to that end.

Despite these fundamental differences, the growing problem of racist content on the Internet has naturally prompted vigorous responses from a variety of agents, including governments, supranational and international organisations as well as from the private sector.

Jessie Daniels: Race, Civil Rights, and Hate Speech in the Digital Era (City University of New York, 2008)

Focus: General

Conclusions:

One of the ways that digital media has sparked innovation is by opening people's minds to new possibilities and reminding us that we are, in fact, designers of our own social futures.

New ways of thinking and learning have emerged, and among those leading the way in thinking about these issues are Richard Kahn and Douglas Kellner, who have called for a multiple literacy approach. A multiple literacy approach combines traditional print literacy with critical media literacy and new forms of literacy about how to access, navigate, create, and participate in digital media. Digital media also poses new challenges and opportunities for parents, educators, activists, and scholars for understanding racism, antiracism, and social justice.

Ten years into the digital media revolution, our initial ways of educating young people about digital media literacy seem ineffectual at best, and misleading at worst. For example, one strategy widely used in Internet literacy curricula is instructing students to "look at the URL," and especially at the three-letter suffix (.com, .edu, .org). In the case of the cloaked Web sites, following this advice only serves to make the cloaked site appear more legitimate, rather than less so. Another response popular with some parents and youth-oriented organizations is "hate filters," software programs designed to "filter" hate sites encountered through search engines. These filters are woefully inadequate at addressing anything but the most overt forms of hate speech online, and even when they work as intended, they disable the critical thinking that is central to what is needed in our approach to digital media literacy.

The direction that digital media literacy needs to take is promoting the ability to read text closely and carefully, as well as developing skills necessary to "read" critically the visual imagery and graphic design. Along with visual and textual literacy, the critical thinking skills required to decipher Web authorship, intended audience, and cloaked political agendas in making knowledge claims must be combined with at least some understanding of how domain name registration works. At a minimum, this is what is required to be a fully engaged, thoughtful user of the Web. Important in this effort is for young people to become content creators actively engaged in creating their own digital media, which helps demystify the medium in significant ways. And, introducing young people to the regular use of a range of free, online tools for Web analysis is important as well. Technology such as the "Who Is Registry" (www.internic.net/whois.html) can sometimes help determine who the author of a Web site is in the absence of clear information. The Alexa (www. alexa.com) Web trafficking service can help young people see how many visitors a particular site gets, and provide some analysis about how that site relates to other sites. The free software Touch Graph (www.touchgraph.com) uses a Java applet to display visually the relationship between links leading to and from a site. Even though youth are immersed in the use of digital media, they are not necessarily adept at thinking critically about digital media, and this is where adults – whether parents, teachers, activists, or scholars – can play a role in connecting them to technology that facilitates this critical thinking. Technological literacy alone, however, is not enough for addressing the challenges of white supremacy online.

Among the advantages of incorporating principles of critical media literacy into a multiple literacy approach required for digital media is that it calls for valuing young people's voices as well as deconstructing images produced by corporate-owned media. Furthermore, critical media literacy calls for understanding multiple perspectives. Understanding multiple perspectives is an important corrective to the racism, sexism, and homophobia generated by corporate-owned media outlets; and, as Henry Jenkins has rightly pointed out, this is a vital contribution of participatory media. However, I want to add a small but significant corrective to the idea of valuing multiple perspectives, by suggesting that not all perspectives are to be valued equally. If "valuing multiple perspectives" is our only standard, then we have no basis on which to critically distinguish between a cloaked Web site and a legitimate civil rights Web site, no way to evaluate the content generated by The King Centre over that produced at www.martinlutherking.org. The usual approach within critical media literacy of "understanding multiple perspectives" is simply not enough for understanding the epistemology of white supremacy online. If new media literacy merely advocates valuing multiple perspectives without regard to content, then there is no way to distinguish between different perspectives, no basis for a vision of social justice. So, in addition to understanding digital media, youth need to be well versed in literacy of racism, antiracism, and social justice.

And, of course, this is one of the places where adults (provided they have this knowledge themselves) can become involved. Young people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds need to read histories of the United States that include critical race perspectives. Youth of colour need critical consciousness to go with lived experiences of everyday racism; and white youth need to begin the lifelong process of unlearning the epistemology of white supremacy. Bringing these multiple literacy together – visual and textual literacy, critical media literacy, and a literacy of antiracism and social justice – will empower young people not to be seduced by white supremacy, whether overt or cloaked, whether in online in digital media or offline, in culture and institutions. The shifting terrain of race, civil rights, and hate speech online compels us to think critically about how we make and evaluate knowledge claims within digital media. How we develop and teach new literacy skills, and how we articulate a vision for social justice will determine whether we will carry forward hard-won civil rights victories, or relinquish them and the Internet to a new era of white supremacy.

Christopher D. Van Blarcum: Internet Hate Speech: The European Framework and the Emerging American Haven (Washington and Lee University School of Law, 2005)

Focus: Law

Although the Council of Europe's Internet Hate Speech Protocol is not likely to result in any additional criminal or civil liability for American Internet users and providers, it will still have an effect on American society. With the increased cooperation of European countries to combat hate speech on the Internet in Europe, America is likely to become a haven for hate speech. This would be caused by both the visibility of pre-established American sites in Europe and America's status as an attractive home for European sites escaping the restrictions on speech present in Europe. However, there are steps that can be taken to mitigate the problem. Most effectively, European nations should engage in a discourse with ISPs and seek their voluntary assistance in trying to cut down on the speech. If that approach does not work, and the problem becomes extremely severe, it may lead to a Constitutional moment, where the Supreme Court reverses its First Amendment jurisprudence. This would allow speech proscriptions on the basis of the subject of the speech, giving the United States greater constitutional authority to proscribe hate speech.

Julie Seaman: Hate speech and identity politics (Florida State University, 2008)

Focus: Youth

Considered together, these separate literatures on individualisation and on priming suggest that it might be possible for institutions to promote prosaically behaviour and to reduce hate speech by fostering identification with those social identity categories for which the normative structures would tend to discourage hate speech. Furthermore, the research suggests that this could be done in subtle, perhaps nearly invisible, ways. Paradoxically, a sense of anonymity, or deindividualisation, is triggered by identification with a group. However, it is not the anonymity per se that leads to antinormative behaviours. Rather, the identification with a social group tends to foster attitudes and behaviours consonant with the norms of the particular group. Because attitudes, behaviours, and group identification can be primed by features in the social and physical environment, universities potentially could influence behaviour (including speech) in prosaically directions by carefully attending to those features over which they have some degree of control, such as physical spaces, institutional culture, and social organization. One possible objection to this proposal is that it evokes the spectre of manipulation and thought control. Just as the prospect of subliminal advertising is objectionable because it seems to undermine free will and consumer choice, so too the prospect of subtle or unconscious priming may strike some as an illegitimate way to influence behaviour. Perhaps the best response to this objection is that situations inevitably influence thoughts and behaviours; if the choice is between moving individuals in a prosocial or antisocial direction, it seems obvious that the former is preferable. Just as architects design public spaces

so as to reduce criminal behaviour and to promote communal spirit, institutions should design institutional space, both social and physical, to promote tolerance, empathy, and cooperation. To take just one rather mundane example, much research has demonstrated the effect of mirrors in decreasing antinormative behaviour. Other studies suggest that inclusive ("we") primes in the environment can serve to increase cooperative behaviour and to decrease competitiveness. Indeed, a feature as simple as the colour of a space can affect behaviour. Though this Essay is merely exploratory and very preliminary, social psychology research on the influence of situational primes upon behaviour and goals is a vibrant and fast-moving area that could no doubt inform institutional design on these questions. Taking such steps would have the further salutary effect that when ambiguous incidents did occur, members of minority groups would be less likely to interpret them as racist or threatening. Furthermore, to the extent that negative stereotypes tend to depress motivation and achievement, the perception of a safe and welcoming environment will counteract this effect. These recommendations were met with great resistance on the part of many students, who argued that the identity-based houses provided crucial support for minorities and other marginalized social groups. This conflict is an aspect of a larger puzzle that is highlighted by the individuation and priming research: group identification can foster either prosocial or antisocial behaviour, depending on the norms of the particular social group which is salient to the individual at a given moment. Furthermore, any individual is at once a member of myriad social groups; the process of group identification is fluid and dynamic. A step in the direction of a solution, perhaps, would be to gather very specific data on hate speech incidents on college campuses in order to determine the situational features that tend to give rise to such behaviour; for example, time of day, physical location, weekday versus weekend, or involvement of alcohol. Armed with such knowledge, universities could be more strategic in the way that they either encourage or discourage identification with various social identity groups in different settings. Though antisocial behaviours, including hate speech, are unlikely to disappear altogether, it seems likely (or at least possible) that institutions could do more to employ the insights derived from social and cognitive psychological research to nudge behaviour in the desired direction.

Christopher Wolf: Hate in the Information Age, article (International Network against Cyber-Hate, 2008)

Focus: General

At the ADL, as well as at INACH, through its member organizations, we seek voluntary cooperation of the Internet community — ISPs and others — to join in the campaign against hate speech. That may mean enforcement of Terms of Service to drop offensive conduct; if more ISPs in the U.S. especially block hateful content at Network Solutions did in the Geert Wilders film example, it will at least be more difficult for haters to gain access through respectable hosts. Likewise, perhaps more universities will put their foot down when it comes to sites like JuicyCampus, whose only purpose is to humiliate and harass students. But in the era of Search Engines as the primary portals for Internet users, cooperation from the Googles of the world is an increasingly important goal. Our experience at the ADL with Google the site "Jew Watch" is a good example. The high ranking of the hate site Jew Watch in response to a search inquiry using the word "Jew" was not due to a conscious choice by Google, but was solely a result of an automated system of ranking. Google placed text on its site that apologized for the ranking, and gave users a clear explanation of how search results are obtained, to refute the impression that Jew Watch was a reliable source of information. I am convinced that if much of the time and energy spent in purported law enforcement against hate speech was used in collaborating and uniting with the online industry to fight the scourge of online hate, we would be making more gains in the fight. That is not to say that the law should be discarded as a tool. But it should be regarded more as a silver bullet reserved for egregious cases where the outcome can make a difference rather than a shotgun scattering pellets but having marginal effect. Even if somehow Americans could be convinced that the First Amendment must yield on the Internet, and the Supreme Court has made it plain that will never happen, even European style speech codes

online will not turn the tide against online hate speech, whether on web sites, on posted videos or in social networking sites. We must deal with the new reality of law taking a back seat to other remedies – to the use of counter-speech, education, and the involvement of Internet companies to combat the scourge of hate speech online.

Analysis of on-going campaigns against hate-speech online

There are no specific campaigns that are merely targeted against hate speech online for young people with such a narrow objective. However, there are three types of campaigns that can be found on the Internet, which are aiming at reducing harms of hate speech and intolerant discrimination especially for young people (but not always exclusively). The first two types are preventive, the third one is remedial. Preventive campaigns are giving information and learning possibility how to avoid the attitude of hate and how to change it. Remedial campaigns are making efforts to combat the existing hate content and attitude on the Internet. It is clear, that in youth policy context the preventive approach can be more effective and more relevant for the characteristics of youth work.

- **Awareness Campaigns**: campaigns that are aiming to raise awareness in wider public concerning discrimination and hate speech in general
- **Affirmative Campaigns**: campaigns that are presenting minority groups in a positive way for a wider public in order to prevent discriminative behaviours
- **Obstructive Campaigns**: campaigns that are collecting information about discriminative sites, actions online and also trying to take steps to restrict or obstruct the activity

Explanation of the analysis:

- **Type:** it gives one of the above types, awareness, affirmative or obstructive.
- **Language:** it lists the different languages in which the content is available on the Internet.
- **Focus:** it describes the age group (or more specific group of people) that the campaign is targeted to.
- **Scope**: it specifies the geographical area where the campaign is focusing.
- **Campaign space:** it tells us whether the campaign is taking place on the Internet (online), or it takes place in reality (offline) or it is using both areas.
- **Theme:** it describes the topics, the main content of the campaign.
- **Implementer:** it introduces the organisation(s) which is responsible for the implementation of the campaign
- **Aims:** it tells us the aims and objectives for which the project is implemented.
- **Description:** it gives the main idea of the campaign, the may structure, the strategy and programme timing.
- **Methods:** it gives details about the way the campaign is implemented, the number of people involved and the methods used.
- **Technical background:** It gives details of the technical conditions of the campaign website and other online features and tools the campaign uses on the Internet.

Website	The code platform, the website was designed. HTML, JAVA, FLASH....etc.
Forum	Interactive feature. If there is a possibility for forum topics.
Comments	Interactive feature. If there is a possibility to comment news and media.
Blog	Interactive feature. If there is a blog placed or connected to the campaign site.
Facebook	Social network feature. If there is a Facebook presence of the campaign, and if yes, what way.
Twitter	Interactive feature. If the campaign can be followed though any micro blog, Twitter...etc.
YouTube	Media feature. If there are videos and event shots uploaded to YouTube.
PageRank	PageRank is what Google uses to determine the importance of a web page. PageRank is one of many factors that determine where your web page appears in search result ranking, but if all other factors are equal, PageRank can have significant impact on your Google rankings. PageRank is measured on a scale of one to ten and assigned to individual pages within a website, not the entire website. The best way to increase PageRank is to have quality content that other people want to link.
Link-number	It indicates the number of sites that are linked into this site. The more links it has the more possibility there are to find the site when surfing.
Search Result	It shows the ordinal number of the site when searching keywords. For example when you type in "Europe" into Google search in Hungary, Council of Europe website will be number 10 in the result list. If there is " – "it means the campaign site was not in the first 30 links in Google search with the relevant keywords.
Alexa	This is the ranking that is provided by Alexa.com. This is based on the actual traffic going to a Website. The ranking is done with numbers as the Website with the most traffic on the Internet (currently Yahoo) would have a traffic ranking of 1 and those with very little traffic would be in the millions. The Alexa traffic ranking has a reputation for being inaccurate, but it is still one of the few professional and objective rankings available. The Alexa ranking is based off the figures they collect from those who have their toolbar installed.
Other features	Any other interesting technical characteristic that is important for that specific online campaign.

– **Results:** In some cases the organisers gave feedback on the results of the campaign which are presented in this section.

– **Strengths:** based on the information provided by the organisers and on a subjective evaluation of results and methods this section identifies the strengths of the campaign as compared to the objectives it set.

– **Weaknesses:** based on the information provided by the organisers and on a subjective evaluation of results and methods this section identifies the weaknesses of the campaign as compared to the objectives it set.

However the definition of a campaign says that it is a systematic course of aggressive activities for a specific purpose – we will use the notion of campaign in a wider meaning, taking also rows of non-aggressive activities into consideration. According to the above aspects we are examining 10 different online campaigns that are aiming to decrease hate content on the internet with different approaches explicitly or implicitly.

Awareness Campaigns

These are online campaigns that are giving information on how to use Internet safely, how to understand harmful content and how to avoid them. These campaigns range from fight against discrimination to protecting youth and children up to general Internet safety campaigns. The most important objective of these campaigns is to make young people understand what hate speech is and be prepared to protect themselves against any attempts of intolerant, hatred brainwash. We will review 3 of this type of campaigns, the European Ins@fe campaign, the online campaign of the Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism in Belgium and an awareness campaign for teenagers about extremism on the Internet in Germany.

ins@fe — Safer internet Day (and other activities) — Europe and the world

Type: Awareness raising

Language: English

Focus: young people, parents, professional working with children and youngsters

Scope: greater Europe, with global aspects

Campaign space: online, offline

Theme: safer use of the Internet

Campaign implemetor: Insafe is a growing European and more and more global network of Awareness Centres promoting safe, responsible use of the Internet and mobile devices to young people. It is co-funded by the Safer Internet Programme of the EU.

Aims: Insafe is a European network of Awareness Centres promoting safe, responsible use of the Internet and mobile devices to young people.

Url : http://www.saferinternet.org

Description: This is a basic awareness campaign online for teenagers, parents and professionals. It is a static portal with all the necessary information concerning safe use of Internet. It informs about all aspects of Internet safety: blogs, chatting, sexual content, cyber bullying, extremism, gambling, spams and viruses. For the study the most important part is cyber bullying and extremism. It gives specified information separately for the three target groups. There are very good campaign films on YouTube designed by Safernet.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4w4_Hrwh2XI&feature=related

Methods: The main method is static information providing and networking. The participating national partners all have their own national campaign elements such as off-line flash mobs, educational tools, interactive activities, marketing campaigns, video sharing and other ways. They also organise a Safer Internet Day every year, which will be the 7th February in 2012 with the title **"Discover the digital world together... safely!"** The day has a special website with lots of information about the campaign event on:

http://www.saferinternetday.org/web/guest

Being an international network it involves many people from employed professionals to volunteers. No concrete number is available.

Technical background: The site is a static HTML site with information, downloadable documents, blog and links to the national awareness centres. They also use Facebook, Twitter and YouTube for their work and campaigns.

Website	Forum	Comments	Blog	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	PageRank	Links	Search	Alexí
HTML	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8	1283	-*	824.766

*keyword: safe internet for young people

Other interesting technical features: newsletter

Results: There are 30 helplines throughout Europe by now. A valuable and effective consultation tool was introduced three years ago within the structure of awareness centres: the national youth panel. Youth panels help successful and meaningful campaigns to come to life and allow decision making within the network to be tailored to their needs. Consultation has often shown us that certain behaviour, regarded as strange and risky by parents and teachers, may not be as uncommon or dangerous as we would think: youth panel sessions provide awareness centres with the necessary knowledge on young people's skills and online activities. The information gathered in these sessions allows awareness centres to identify the important issues, to raise awareness on the identified risks, and to equip children and young people with better resilience and avoidance strategies, rather than forbidding the use of modern media. The Insafe network values the youth panellist's testimonies not only because it allows national centres to identify possible dangers and issues of concern based on specific trends in the behaviour and values of young people today, but also because these consultations serve as a constant reminder of the strong benefits the internet has to offer. As youth panellists are often acquainted with the most recent developments in modern technology, they can teach our national awareness centres how to deal with new tools and raise awareness on the many possibilities out there in the world today. To support this important area of work, Insafe has launched the Pan-EU-Youth website in collaboration with Vivendi, a French media company. In addition to providing a focal point for the work of the pan-European and national youth panels, the website provides a platform for young people to share views and resources on citizenship issues of concern to them.http://www.paneuyouth.eu/web/youth

The past year saw the organisation of three training meetings, bringing together representatives of Safer Internet Centres from all 30 member countries. The meetings focused on emerging trends in the online world and sharing of good practice. The past year saw the organisation of three training meetings, bringing together representatives of Safer Internet Centres from all 30 member countries. The meetings focused on emerging trends in the online world and sharing of good practice.

They use Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. Facebook now boasts more that 750 million active users. For a network such as Insafe that concentrates on online safety, it goes without saying that this is the place to be and a platform to follow closely. The Insafe Facebook fan page received a new and colourful design in 2011 along with a new posting strategy. "Likers" of the Insafe Facebook fan page typically receive two daily updates with content from across the Insafe network and the Insafe blog. Twitter, with its swift turnover of tweets, is an ideal place not only to disseminate, but also to receive information. A large professional community has formed there from across the fields of eSafety and eLearning, sharing the latest news, resources and insights. Additionally, its YouTube channel has found a special use for the Pan-EU Youth website, as contributions to an Insafe video competition were uploaded there and the intriguing clips of the youth panels shared.

Facts and figures on Safer Internet Day in 2011:

It was celebrated in 74 countries across six continents (in 43 European countries).

There were 2.5 million Google hits and 1,200 Google news articles relating to the Day.

The campaign video received almost 75,000 views on YouTube.

There were more than 30,000 visits to the Insafe portal on Safer Internet Day itself.

Insafe works closely with Facebook European Content Policy Office and Microsoft Community Office Europe.

Strengths: Networking gives a very solid and supportive foundation for the work of Insafe. Its campaigns are international. The Safer Internet Day campaign is clearly a strong element of their work. It is intensive and concentrated so it helps a lot in reaching new people, and involve them into the idea of using internet safely. It is preventive and very informative with lots of creative educational elements. It receives grants from and recognised by the EU Safer Internet Programme, the most significant strategic fund available in Europe for this purpose.

Weaknesses: It is not only and specifically concentrating on hate speech, but to a wider concept of Internet safety for children and young people, however by supporting the idea of an Internet without aggression and harm it does a good deal of preventive work against hate content. The programme, by its nature, focuses on children and teenagers only.

Cyberhaine as part of campaigning against discrimination - Belgium

Type: Awareness raising

Language: French, Dutch, English, German

Focus: all people with special focus on youth, children and parents

Scope: Belgium

Campaign space: online

Theme: equal opportunities

Campaign implemetor: Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism. The Centre is a public institution that aims to promote equal opportunities and that fights any type of exclusion, restriction or preferential treatment based on legally stipulated criteria. The Centre also oversees the respect of the fundamental rights of foreign nationals and observes the nature and scope of migration flows. Furthermore the Centre stimulates the fight against human trafficking.

Aims: The Centre's task is to promote equality of opportunity and to combat all forms of discrimination, exclusion, restriction or preferential treatment based on: a so-called race, skin colour, descent, national or ethnic origin, sexual orientation, marital status, birth, wealth, age, religion or ideology, present or future state of health, disability or physical characteristics. The Centre also has the task

of ensuring respect for the basic rights of foreigners and informing the authorities about the nature and scale of migration flows. It also has the duty of promoting consultation and dialogue between all governmental and private players involved in the reception and integration of immigrants.

Url: http://Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.
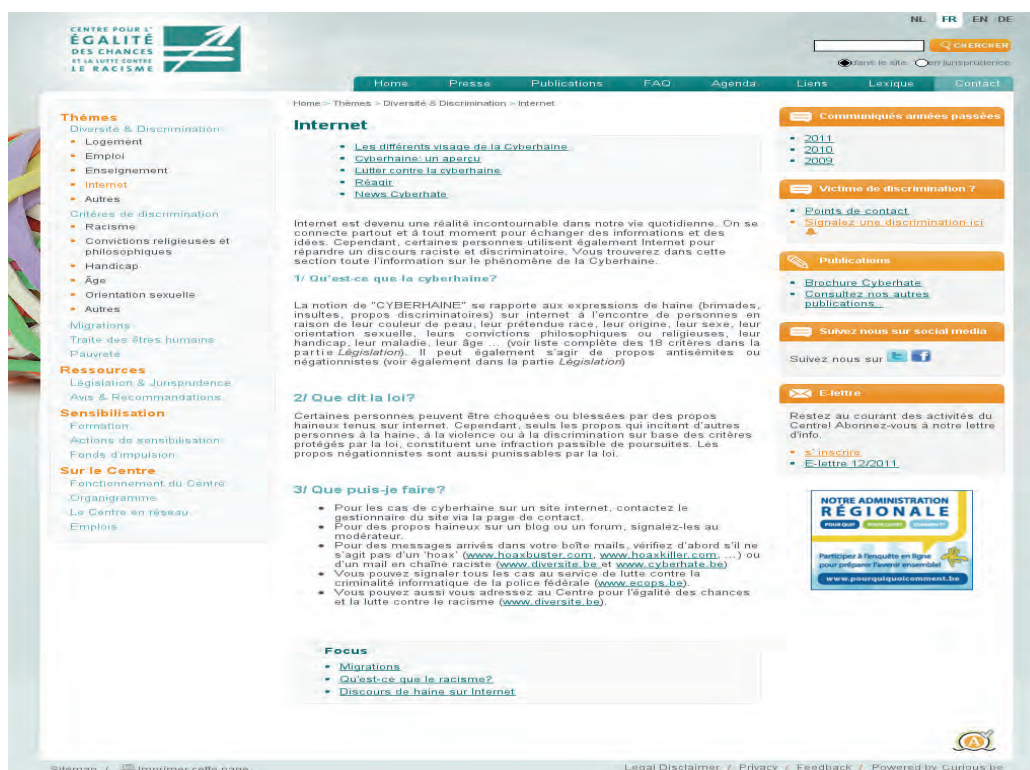
Description: The site introduces the different forms of cyber hate in forums, chat rooms, websites, blogs, chain emails. It also updates the readers about the present legal fight against cyber hate in Belgium. It urges the readers to react to and report cyber hate and also tells us how to and where to do so. It is more an informative site trying to raise awareness and urging people to understand and react. The centre organises campaigns against discrimination in general, not specifically against cyber hate, for they consider cyberhate as one of the manifestation of the discriminative and aggressive attitude.

Methods: The main method is information providing. The centre also takes part in campaigns against all forms of discrimination. It publishes booklets and reports. They organise training courses and also give financial support to local projects in Belgium. The section of the site on the different target groups of discrimination is very well structured, also with links to specific organisations. As of 31 December 2010 the Centre has 101 full-time employees. Cases of cyber-hate can also be reported via the Centre's website (www.diversiteit.be). Two staff members from the Second Line Service handle the cyber-hate cases, in close collaboration with the Frontline staff.

Technical background: The site is a static HTML site with lots of information.

Website	Forum	Comments	Blog	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	PageRank	Links	Search	Alexa
HTML	No	No	No	No	No	No	6	189	1*	2014842

keyword: belgique cyberhaine

Other interesting technical features:

Results: In 2010 the Centre received a total of 4 500 complaints. Around 56% of those were made via the website. Noticeably, more men (64%) than women (36%) filed complaints. Discrimination was the topic of 80% of the complaints and 20% concerned the basic rights of foreigners. The Centre provided 344 hours of information sessions (less than 1 day) and 640 hours of training (minimum 1 day), reaching a total of around 6 350 people.

Strengths: This is an institutional programme supported by the government in Belgium. It has a long term strategy and an ensured budget. In terms of hate content they have a very good information resource and it is very well integrated into the work for diversity and against discrimination. The part of the site which explains aspects of online hate speech is very well designed.

Weaknesses: It is not really a campaign; however it has campaign like elements. It is not cyber hate specific work, but it is rather integrated. It is not youth specific at all. It is very static, only providing information.

"Click? Don't get trapped by Nazis!"

Type: Awareness raising

Language: German

Focus: young people 12-16

Scope: Germany

Campaign space: offline campaign with online content

Theme: anti-extremism, anti-racism

Campaign implementer: Jugendschutz.net and the Hessian State Office for Political Education

Aims: The booklet aims at informing kids (age 12-16) about right-wing extremism and providing arguments and strategies against discrimination online.

Url: http://www.jugendschutz.net

Description: In 2009, jugendschutz.net published the brochure, "Click? Don't get trapped by Nazis!", in collaboration with the Central Authority for Political Education of the State of Hesse. The booklet aims at informing kids (age 12-15) about right-wing extremism and providing arguments and strategies against discrimination online. The comiclike, fictitious photo story of a clique of youngsters integrates information and education, all in a youth oriented style. It also provides arguments and strategies that youngsters can use to defend themselves against discrimination and neo-Nazis on the Internet.

The Brochure

What can Laura do against cyber-bullying? And how does Karim react when he gets insulted by "Aryan 88" in a chatroom? Four Teenagers aged 13 to 14 are the protagonists in this brochure that has been developed especially for young Internet users. They tell their own stories about how and where they have been confronted with extreme right-wing propaganda on the Internet. Then, there is Kevin, a classmate who is just slipping into the neo-Nazi scene which makes the extreme right phenomenon even more real to the teenagers.

The Story: A clique of teenagers experiences right-wing extremism on the Internet

Sitting in a café Laura, Karim, Franziska and Nils chat about a party that is going to happen next weekend. Having met Kevin in the street, Laura is reminded of a racist incidence she experienced while using the Internet. This leads to flashbacks of all youngsters who then report everyday situations where they came across right-wing extremism on the Internet, for example in communities, chat rooms or while doing research at school. While the story evolves they learn that there is always something that can be done against cyber hate.

Story 1: Just a fake?

In the Social Community "Schüler-VZ", Laura visits Alexander's profile, a boy from school she really likes. When she finds discriminating remarks about Alexander on the profile, Laura is very irritated and asks her brother Ronald for advice. He explains that this is an example of cyber-bullying, and that somebody must have uploaded this profile to harm Alexander on purpose. Ronald knows: This is a clear violation of the communities' terms of service and can be reported to the operator in order to get the profile removed. Together they come into action and report the offence. Besides Laura discovers that you can find certain groups in social communities that are advocate tolerance and that stand up against neo-Nazis and hate.

Story 2: Just chatting?

Nils comes over to Karim's house but instead of learning they surf around in chat rooms. Karim's username sounds Arabic which seems to make him an immediate target for verbal attacks by right-wing extremists. When Karim's mother returns back home the two boys break up the chat, but mother sees that something happened and wants to know what. When they tell her about the racist verbal attacks, Karim's mother suggests seeing their neighbour who is a police woman. The neighbour explains to the boys that harassments in chatrooms can be reported to the respective provider or the police. Back in the chat room, Karim uses a significant German name and is immediately contacted by someone with a typical neo-Nazi user name – this time in a friendly way. Karim doesn't hesitate to inform other users about his experience, organizes solidarity and manages to have the neo-Nazis excluded from the chatroom.

Story 3: Just a movie?

Franziska and Karim are talking at the schoolyard, when Kevin joins them to show off with some video clips he has stored on his cell phone. Franziska finds those clips of extreme right demonstrations disgusting, and wonders why they can be disseminated freely throughout the Internet. With the help of a teacher she learns that these videos are legal and still covered by the fundamental right of freedom of speech. Having learned all this, she decides to become active against right-wing extremism.

Story 4: Just stories?

Nils' class has to do some Internet research to find out the meaning of the word "Holocaust". Nils shares the computer with Kevin who suddenly comes up with a website that promotes Holocaust denying content. When the teacher wants to know what they found, Nils can't hide his confusion about what he just read. The teacher is really upset and concerned. She decides to use the next day for educating the class about political groups that try to deny the Holocaust. They end up having intense conversations about the tragedy of the Holocaust. Everyone in class gets the chance to share their knowledge of this sad chapter in history.

The open end

The last chapter shows the clash between the clique and Kevin with his new "neo-Nazi friends". Kevin's classmates confront him with the consequences of being a right-wing extremist and urge him to the decision of becoming a neo-Nazi, or turn around and get back on the "right" track. How will Kevin react? This question stays unanswered.

Methods: The leaflet was distributed to school teachers, youth workers and young people. The leaflet was used for workshops about cyber hate throughout the country. Young people can also read them individually for it is easy to understand and the language is very specific. There were some young people involved in the design, and the distribution work demanded a good structure of partners.

Technical background: A downloadable PDF document, which is also printed in 30.000 copies in 2011 (new print is expected in 2012). No online campaign connected.

Results: There is no evaluation about the "results" of the brochure, but the organisers gave some feedback that they are getting a lot of positive feedback from people who have used "Click" in a professional context with young people. There hasn't been a comparable product so far. Youngsters themselves were involved in the creative process of the brochure to make sure it is suitable and attractive for the specific target group. The first edition of 30.000 brochures is already exhausted, showing the wide approval of the brochure. A reprint of "Click" is intended for 2012.

Strengths: It is designed by the involvement of young people so it is very specific. It can be used in training situations. It is offline about online content, which is very interesting because the information about virtual world comes from the real world. It is very youth friendly.

Weaknesses: Relatively small number of prints (as compared to the size of Germany) so the effect is limited to the number of copies available. There is no training combined with the leaflet on how to use it with groups of young people. It is not integrated into an online campaign.

Affirmative campaigns

These are campaigns that are aiming to put different groups that are targets of hate speech into a positive light. The campaigns are concentrating on those groups of people who are often targets of hate speech and malignant attitude. These projects have a very strong empowering character towards the "hated" group, and they also stand as positive, likable examples for non-affected outsiders. We will give an example of four seriously affected groups of people in Europe: gipsies, musulmans, Jews and gay people.

All out

Type: Positive reinforcement, empowerment

Language: English, French, Spanish, Portugal

Focus: gay people

Scope: all around the world

Campaign space: online

Theme: against homophobia and for equal rights of LGBT people

Campaign implementer: Inter-LBGT (Interassociative Lesbienne, Gaie, Bi et Trans) is the biggest French federation of lesbian, gay, bi and trans association fighting against discriminations based on sexual orientation, and gender identity in cooperation with several other national and international organisations.

Aims: Its goal is to help the global LGBT movement achieve in 10 years what might take 30 or more years to accomplish based on current global trends, and to instigate the kinds of fresh and dynamic popular discussions around diversity and LGBT equality that improve and enrich the lives of people everywhere. It is organizing online and on the ground to build a world where every person can live freely and be embraced for who they are. "Gay, lesbian, bi, transgender or straight, we need you to go All Out to build this historic movement for equality."

Url:http://allout.org
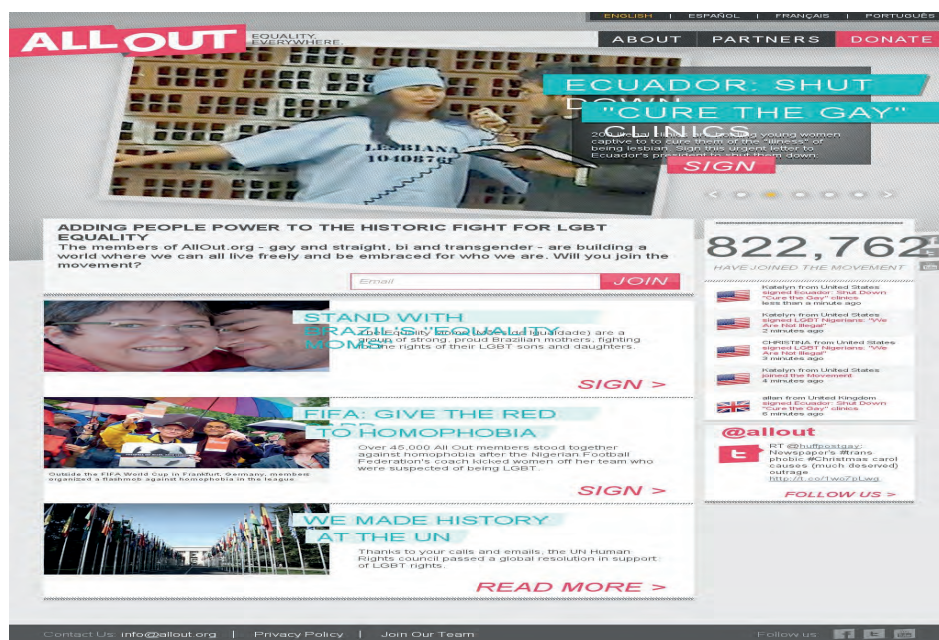
Description: It is complex global campaign. By tapping in to the unprecedented possibilities for global people power that new social media technologies allow, All Out is building a truly global community able to respond to moments of crisis and opportunity, to advance the lives and freedoms of LGBT people everywhere. From the blogosphere to social networks to email inboxes, All Out runs multilingual real-time campaigns to inform, educate, and engage the public.

From the halls of government to corporate boardrooms, from news rooms to living rooms, All Out members are making their voices heard and supporting and amplifying the work of existing local and international LGBT organizations. As a nimble campaigning organization, All Out reacts quickly to developing stories in the news cycle important to LGBT people, and looks for new and creative ways to tell those stories ourselves in every language, medium and culture.

Methods: It is typical campaign site, in the sense that it is easy to understand. It has one clear message and there not too much information provided. The campaign site gives the most important figures of the campaign, it highlights the number of people who joined the campaign so far and it briefly explains the reasons and the objectives of the campaign. And there is an update on the

latest news about LGBT achievements and problems in the different countries in the world. Most of the work, local activities are organised by the national partner organisations, so if somebody is interested in what is going on in LGBT movement in his/her country, they can go to the links to the partners. The main method is collecting information from all over the LGBT organisations and creates e a kind observatory tower for the international campaign. The campaign message is "Equality Everywhere!" There are also campaigns films on the YouTube, very dynamic very well designed and targeted. The international campaign is mainly online, but there are many offline activities behind the campaign. There is continuous and up-to-date follow on Twitter and Facebook.

Technical background:

Website	Forum	Comments	Blog	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	PageRank	Links	Search	Alexi
HTML	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5	918	-*	99.245

keyword: lgbt people

Other interesting technical features: member counter

Results: In less than a year All Out has worked to halt the deportation of a lesbian Ugandan asylum seeker in the UK, organized to defend the immigration rights of bi-national same sex couples, called global attention to homophobic and trans violence in Brazil, and helped organized unprecedented pressure at the United Nations to push forward a historic resolution on LGBT equality. Over half a million around the world went All Out with us to stop the "Kill the Gays" bill in Uganda, dozens joined our flash mob in Germany to protest homophobia at the Women's World Cup, and tens of thousands are pushing Facebook, the social networking giant, to recognize and respect trans identities. So far 822.801 people joined the campaign throughout the world.

For example the latest achievement that can be read among the news is the successful removal of many extremist groups from PayPal (a popular Internet payment system).

> "Several extremist groups have been removed from PayPal a week after AllOut.org, the leading international LGBT rights organization, launched a campaign urging the online payment provider to sever its relationship with them. Six targeted organizations continue to raise money through PayPal. The PayPal option has been disabled on the websites of Brazilian extremist Julio Severo's sites, Noua Dreapta, and Dove World Outreach Center—organizations whose regular anti-LGBT hate speech puts them starkly at odds with PayPal's own ethics policy, which states that account holders "may not use the PayPal service for activities that [...] promote hate, violence, racial intolerance". AllOut.org has called for several organizations to be removed, and has attracted almost 40,000 signers from around the world to its petition asking for PayPal to take action. In response, the successful campaign has been dubbed "the latest example of homo-fascism," by "Americans for Truth About Homosexuality," a notoriously virulent anti-LGBT group." Resource: www.allout.com

Strengths: Very straightforward, clear and understandable campaign and the online presence is very well structured and manifested. The website, the Facebook and the twitter profiles are well connected in format and content. There is no flood of information; the information is well selected and prepared, only the main messages are presented. The figures on the main page create a very concrete and catchy atmosphere, and also make the campaign concrete and realistic. It is based on international networking of several local, national organisations.

Weaknesses: It is not search optimised, difficult to find. The PageRank is weak and the link number is extremely small compared to the size and significance of the campaign. It is not marketed in popular LGBT sites. Like most of the gay campaigns it remains within the activists of the organisations.

Young, Jewish and Proud

Type: Positive insight, empowerment

Language: English

Focus: Jewish youth

Scope: Israel and Palestine

Campaign space: online

Theme: peace in Israel and Palestine, against stereotypes about Jewish people

Campaign implementer: The Young Jewish Declaration is a project created by young leaders within Jewish Voice for Peace, America's largest Jewish grassroots peace group dedicated to reaching a just peace between Israelis and Palestinians based on the principles of equality and international human rights law.

Aims: The campaign is to work with activists in Palestine and Israel, and in broad coalition with other Jewish, Arab-American, faith-based, and peace and social justice organizations to support the aspirations of Israelis and Palestinians for justice, security and self-determination.

Url:http://www.youngjewishproud.org

Description: They wrote an online declaration with a YouTube spot with vision of collective identity, purpose and values written by and for young Jews committed to justice in Israel and Palestine. It is an invitation and call to action for both our peers and our elders, launched as a counter-protest at the 2010 Jewish Federation General Assembly in New Orleans.

Methods: The main idea is the Young Jewish Declaration written in 2010. The declaration was written by young people, who wanted to express their global concerns against the wrong attitude of Jewish people to others, and the wrong stereotypes about Jewish people. The declaration has 4 parts: we exist, we remember, we refuse and we commit. It is also produced in video format on YouTube.

Technical background: It is a static HTML site with videos and the possibility of commenting all the pages.

Website	Forum	Comments	Blog	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	PageRank	Links	Search	Other
HTML	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	4	96	-	2980856

keyword: Jewish youth campaign

Results: There is a commenting under the declaration where several young people could react to the declaration. Here is one from a Palestinian girl.

> "I am not Jewish, I am a Palestinian Muslim girl, I am really moved by what I have read because I have always heard that not all Jewish people hate us and want us out of Palestine but I have never seen it… and it's good to know that there are such people… it's fair to say that Zionist people are the ones who had done the harm not Jews… and I have to disagree with Johnny on the idea that Israel is not an occupying force because, Jewish people have been living in the Palestinian lands for a long time……and once again I thank you guys for finally making it clear about what Jewish people think… and I wish you the best of luck in this movement…"

Strengths: This is a very honest, human campaign that is absolutely against all stereotypes about Jewish people. It is clearly a very creative approach to showing how to be proud of your identity and at the same time be self-critical, and very human, and Human Rights based.

Weaknesses: It is not an outreach campaign; it is focusing on the website. There are a lot of potentials unexplored.

Typical Roma?

Type: Positive insight, empowerment

Language: English

Focus: roma youngsters

Scope: South-East Europe

Campaign space: online, offline

Theme: changing stereotypes, empowering the Roma

Campaign implemetor: "Typical Roma?" was an international campaign of ERGO Network which ran from autumn 2009 to April 2010, when it ended during the Second European Roma Summit in Córdoba.

Aims: In the campaign young Roma addressed and challenged the stigmatization and prejudiced stereotyping as root causes for social exclusion of Roma. NGOs from Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Moldova participated in the campaign, which intended to promote a positive image of Roma and to strengthen the Roma voice in order to raise awareness for active citizenship of ALL in ONE society.

Url: http://www.ergonetwork.org/ergo-network/campaigns/typical-roma/

Description: Strong and independent grassroots and community-based organisations are the key for Roma to become equal stakeholders in society. They contribute to the success of Roma inclusion policies by organising pressure from below and active involvement in design and implementation of programmes and projects at local, national and international level. ERGO Network supports and promotes grassroots empowerment to overcome the discrimination, anti-Gypsyism and stigmatization that are root obstacles for their equal participation in society. Through grassroots mobilization, activism and leadership at all levels of society, ERGO Network encourages Roma to attain respect for their rights as equal citizens. They work in South-East European countries with the following local partners:

Albania:	**Roma Active Albania (RAA)**
Bulgaria:	**Integro Association**
Macedonia:	**R.R.O.M.A. and Roma Progress**
Moldova:	**Porojan and Tarna Rom**
Romania:	**Policy Center for Roma and Minorities**
Serbia:	**Democraic Association of Roma (DUR)**
Turkey:	**EDROM**

Methods: The online part of the campaign is the website where one could read the latest news and achievements about the campaign which connects the reader to the offline events, watch the campaign videos and pictures of activities. The documents and studies of the campaign can also be read online. The website connected all the partners and events during the campaign in 2009-2010.

Technical background: The main site of ERGO Network is a HTML site.

Website	Forum	Comments	Blog	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	PageRank	Links	Search	Alexa
HTML	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	5	38	-	27,490,323

keyword: campaign for gypsy young people

Other interesting technical features: knowledge section

Results: One of the most visible actions of "Typical Roma?" was the election of the "Most Roma-friendly Mayor" in the five participating countries. The competition was announced in several communities and asked participating Mayors to answer a questionnaire. The winning Mayors were selected by independent committees. ERGO Network brought the five winning Mayors from the participating countries to the Second European Roma Summit in Córdoba, on April the 8th 2010. There they were awarded and had a meeting with the Mayor of Còrdoba. The action intended to show how much difference the approach of local administrations can make to the situation of Roma communities and to encourage other municipalities to follow their good example. In the framework of the "Typical Roma"-campaign, the participating organisations carried out a variety of other awareness-raising activities in their countries, including establishing temporary "Inclusion zones", where Roma and non-Roma met and discussed about stereotypes.

The participating NGOs also collected stories for a so-called **Black & White book,** which was presented during the Roma Summit in Córdoba. The book presents stories of successful and failed Roma integration. Roma youngsters took a critical look at their own environment to present a collection of stories about their situation, about policies and projects that target them and about the attitudes and approaches of local authorities. This book shows the mechanisms of exclusion, hidden discrimination and inaction at work at the local level where policies actually need to be put in practice.

There are some interesting spots made by young people which can be watched on YouTube as well. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U9SozciiAwo&feature=related

Strengths: It involves gypsy organisations from the Balkan, so it is one of the very few regional networks that are full of activities and good initiatives. It has local grassroots in each country with many volunteers. The campaign was very empowering for those who participated. It had concrete results and local impacts. The network keeps up the campaign mood with new and new campaigns every year.

Weaknesses: The videos are not clear in terms of message. The potentials of Internet were not explored. The campaign website is not well optimized and difficult to find.

islam is Peace

Type: Positive insight, challenging stereotypes

Language: English

Focus: all ages

Scope: United Kingdom

Campaign space: online and offline

Theme: changing stereotypes about Muslims

Campaign implemetor: For several years there has been a need for Muslims to counteract the negative image of Islam with the truth. This negative image has come about because of the actions of terrorists who call themselves Muslims and the general media reaction. It is one that the majority of Muslims do not recognise. So a group of people got together to do something about this. The people involved in the "Islam is Peace" Campaign are all volunteers who share a vision of a diverse, all inclusive and strong Britain. They come from various backgrounds including medicine, education, civil service, consulting, and the voluntary sector. Some are housewives who have directly experienced Islamaphobia and felt the need to make a change. The uniting belief amongst the ever growing number of volunteers is that no one should be allowed to associate the acts of criminals with the peaceful message of Islam.

Aims: The Islam is Peace Campaign aims to address the negative perceptions and stereotypes of Islam and British Muslims. We intend to do this through media engagement to reach out to the wider community across the United Kingdom. We hope to start this process through a multi-pronged approach: Islam is Peace aims to educate the general public of the misconceptions about Islam, to disseminate accurate information about Islam and British Muslims and to help create a more tolerant and informed atmosphere. Our objective is to create grassroots awareness in the wider community about the peaceful message of Islam and to project the lives and views of ordinary Muslims, demonstrating how British Muslims are part of the fabric of ordinary, everyday society.

Url:http://www.islamispeace.org.uk

Description: There are two main sections of the website. One that is concentrating on the campaign, what they do in the different media and also outside with a Peace Bus throughout the UK. It is also full of videos and spots with Muslim people talking about what they feel and think. The other element of the site is the part on introducing Islam in easy understandable way pointing out the most important characters of the religion and of the Muslim people including the belief itself, the history, the lifestyle of Muslims, arts, ethics, misconcepts and about the Muslims in Britain. It even explains strong connections with Human Rights. It is a very practical and well-designed site. On YouTube there is no presence of the campaign, however there are some news about the campaign by hotair.com.

Methods: The main elements of the campaign are offline, visual media adds on buses and in televisions. The online part is basically the webpage. The webpage is informing about Islam and it makes efforts to change existing stereotypes by explaining what is and what are not the real Islam, and that Islam interpreted badly by some people in the world, also by people who believe they are Muslims.

Technical background:

Website	Forum	Comments	Blog	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	PageRank	Links	Search	Alexa
HTML	No	No	No	No	No	No	4	53	1*	21660180

keyword: campaign for Islam in UK

Other interesting technical features: guest book

Results: There is no official evaluation of the campaign yet. However there are some visible and traceable results on the Internet. If we type "Islam is peace" into Google we find several news reports, articles about the campaign and also there are forum topics where people argue or counter argue the campaign. It clearly shows that it kicked the topic off and put it into the concerns of many people, they talk about it they think about it and they form opinion, they understand, agree or disagree which is after all the real value and impact of a good campaign.

Strengths: It is very good example of a campaign for changing stereotypes. It is both online and offline with a very clear and simple message. The webpage is well designed and easy to understand and navigate. The section about Islam, lifestyle, religion, ethical issues, arts and misconcepts are really good and brief, if someone reads them he/she can challenge his/her own stereotypes about the Islam religion and Muslim people.

Weaknesses: The website is not interactive; the only possibility is to leave a note in the guest book. It does not follow the debates (forums, feedbacks, media coverage) which could also help visitors of the campaign site to get involved in the process. The campaign is attempting to change a certain attitude to Islam and Muslim people, and such a process involves a lot of concerns and expressions. This energy could be very well used for a more effective campaign.

Obstructive Campaigns

These campaigns are trying to fight for criminalisation of hate speech on the internet as well, or they are collecting information about and point out sites or users who are committing "hate crimes" on the Internet. There are different legal approaches to hate speech in different European countries, so it is very difficult at the moment to effectively trace and ban hate sites and malignant contents on the Internet. However there are several national and international campaigns which aim at stopping hate speech so that it does not reach young people.

iNACH

Type: putting hate sites into negative view

Language: English

Focus: all people

Scope: international

Campaign space: online

Theme: against any kind of hate speech

Campaign implemeter: International Network Against Cyberhate (INACH) is a foundation under Dutch Law and is seated in Amsterdam. INACH was founded in 2002 by Jugendschutz.net (Germany) and Magenta Foundation, Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (the Netherlands).

Aims: The objective of INACH is to combat discrimination on the Internet. It unites and empowers organizations to promote respect, responsibility and citizenship on the Internet through countering cyber hate and raising awareness about online discrimination. INACH reinforces Human Rights and mutual respect for the rights and reputations of all Internet users. INACH tries to reach its goals by uniting organisations fighting against cyber hate, exchanging information to enhance effectiveness of such organisations, lobbying for international legislation to combat discrimination on Internet, support groups and institutions who want to set up a complaints bureau, create awareness and promote attitude change about discrimination on the internet by giving information, education.

Url:http://www.inach.net

Description: The site has three main functions. Give information about legislation in the European countries and give the contact of the national organisations that deals with the issue, to show the latest news in this regard, and to give the possibility to make a complaint about an online hate crime. It is very practical and clear.

Methods: It is an essential information provider for all, who want to get involved in fight against hate speech on the Internet. It is a website with information, links, partners, legal background and actual news in the field. The main message is "Bringing the online in line with Human Rights", and all activities are organised in this light. In a way it is a continuous campaign to unite all resources and forces to make the internet a hate-free space. It also does a lot of work in the policy field, lobbying for legislation, pushing debates about hate speech and its challenges.

Technical background:

Website	Forum	Comments	Blog	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	PageRank	Links	Search	Other
HTML	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	6	87	13*	7788021

*keyword: cyber hate online

Other interesting technical features: report com-plaints

Results: INACH members have been monitoring cyber hate since the networks' foundation. Again in 2010, INACH registered more than 15.000 instances of hate and discrimination online. Especially the continuously increasing Web 2.0 activities resulted in a higher number of such content in social communities, video platforms and other Web 2.0 services. Besides this trend towards Web 2.0 activities, especially the availability of user-friendly music software and videogame authoring tools was noted. Combined with the power of social networks, produced music and video is shared and distributed in a much faster and attractive way than some years ago, making the dissemination of hate, terror and recruitment for extremism very easy. Compared to discrimination on other grounds, anti-Semitic expressions are still at a high level. Websites with Holocaust denying content are a common problem that each member deals with on basis of its national legal situation. INACH strives towards more responsibility concerning this issue from the ISPs - especially social networking providers like Facebook have to take more action and ban such content form their sites.

Since its start INACH has been working on trans-national solutions to reinforce the Human Rights of Internet users. Discriminatory, racist or otherwise hateful actions are unacceptable offline - this certainly also applies for the Internet. INACH stands for an equal implementation of respect and responsibility online. When Internet content violates Human Rights of individuals or specific groups, providers are asked to take action. Even without specific laws providers are in some cases willing to remove racist and discriminatory content on basis of their own Terms of Service. Within the last year INACH members succeeded in having thousands of hate sites or expressions removed from their servers.

Fostering media literacy and critical thinking is the most important instrument to tackle hate mongers and the spread of discriminatory content on the Internet. Social networking sites and other platforms are what users make of it, so INACH demands a culture of shared responsibility. Using the Internet with respect to the rights and reputations of others is the key to this issue. Most INACH members are active in the field of education. With their publications and concepts they sensitize users, educators, parents, police and other relevant groups about the phenomenon of cyber hate and ways to use the Net as tool to promote responsibility and citizenship. Media educational workshops, brochures, CDs, books and reports are available in different languages and offer concrete ideas and concepts for pedagogical settings.

Strengths: The site is a must for any expert going into the field. It is very practical information site, and it provides all the necessary information about hate speech on the internet, and one can understand the situation globally and in Europe. The links to national partners is very useful.

Weaknesses: It is not a campaign in its strict meaning. It is an important site without any social or interactive elements.

Athenea institute

Type: putting hate sites into negative view

Language: English, Hungarian

Focus: all people

Scope: Hungary

Campaign space: online

Theme: any extremism and hate speech

Campaign implemetor: The Athena Institute was founded to enhance human dignity and protect our most vulnerable communities while combating extremist agendas in order to preserve and strengthen democracy in the European continent. The Athena Institute, based in Budapest, is an independent, non-profit and nonpartisan organization that neither solicits, nor accepts funding from the Hungarian Government.

Aims: In a broader context the Institute's interventions aim to prevent small-scale human rights violations to spiral out of control and become a full-fledged security policy challenge. Via its monitoring activities and independent investigations the Institute collects data on the phenomenon of domestic extremism that serve as a basis for its fact-based analytical programs exploring trends and shifts in the threat environment. In addition to reaching out directly to key stakeholders, the Institute also launches powerful initiatives to shape the public discourse with the aspiration of serving as a security provider.

The aim of the Hate Groups Map of the Athena Institute is to provide a broad picture about the presumed locations where hate groups are seated in Hungary trough the an interactive map. You can find the most important information about each organisation and read a short summary about their history and background by clicking on the symbols depicted on the map.

Url:http://athenaintezet.hu/en/index/
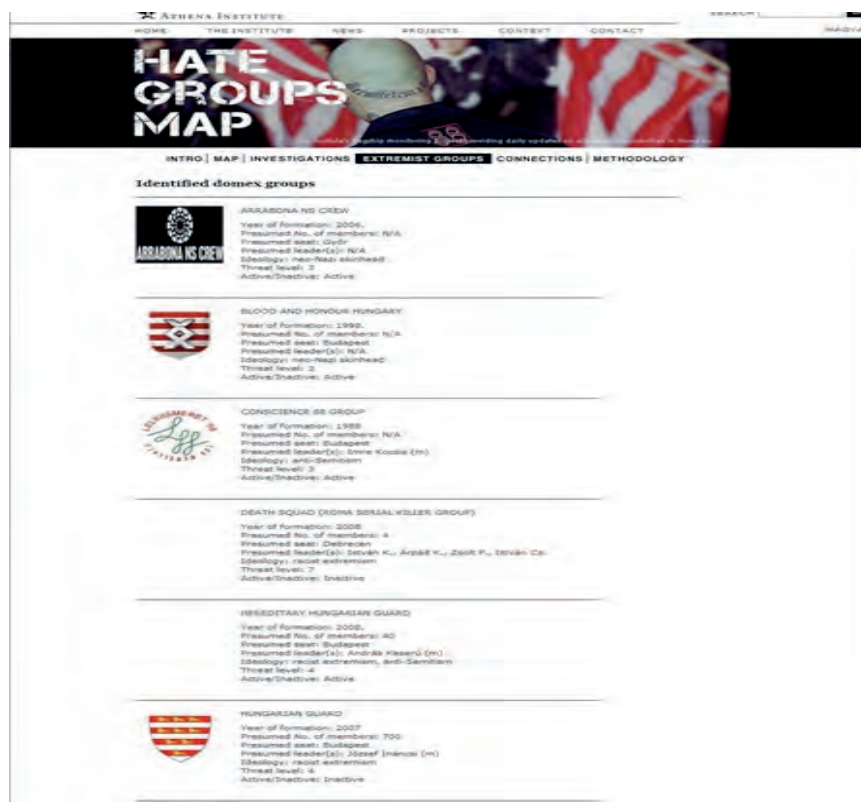
Description: The site is devoted to collect all information about hate groups and their activities in Hungary. The also produced a so called hate map, which indicates the different hot points where there are extremist activities and formulating groups and associations. It is a kind of awareness list of hate crime acts and hate groups in real life.

Methods: The main method is monitoring these groups and their activities, and share them on the Internet. They also write reports and studies about malignant groups and organisations. The website also introduces the human connections among the different organisations and groups.

Technical background:

Website	Forum	Comments	Blog	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	PageRank	Links	Search	Other
HTML	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	3	24	2*	NA

keyword: hate groups in Hungary

Results: The essence of the method is monitoring, to keep an eye on these people, and groups and try to identify crimes according to the actual legislation. It is obvious that there is revival of extreme right movements in Hungary and that there is no straightforward legal obstruction at the moment. The Institute is collecting as much information as possible about these people, some of whom are also involved in parliamentary politics, and active in extremist parties. With this they create a kind of transparency and awareness that the democratic society is watching their actions, and intervenes within the legal possibilities.

Strengths: This site is an interesting example of putting hate speech groups, and malignant attitude into a kind of negative light. With the help of the publicity of the Internet they are criminalized and measured against Human Rights and dignity. There are similar approaches in many countries, where there is no radical legal consequence of such attitude, behaviour and verbal aggression. This is a way to combat hate speech, and also to create a virtual obstruction. This site has a very good collection, a map and hate crime database. One can also join to support and help their investigations.

Weaknesses: It is not about hate speech online, but about hate crime in general. It is not focusing on young people, but it could be developed and used for more specific actions as well. It is very static in the sense that there is no campaign or movement that could use the achievements of this virtual collection of data.

Hass-im-netz.info

Type: fight against cyber hate

Language: German

Focus: youth and youth related professionals

Scope: Germany

Campaign space: online

Theme: extreme right, neo-Nazi content

Campaign implemeter: Jugenschütz.net.It was founded in 1997 by the youth ministers of all German provinces to check on youth-protection-related offers on the Internet and press for compliance with the protection of minors. To ensure a coherent regulatory structure for broadcasting media and the Internet KJM - Commission for Youth Media Protection was established as a central regulatory body for the protection of minors and human dignity. Since then KJM funds jugendschutz.net.

Aims: The main aim of hass-im-netz.info is to use all means to reduce the harm of online hate content for young people in Germany. It provides information on hate content, gives advice on what

to do with hate content. It also investigates the Internet to locate hate content and it makes the necessary steps to have them removed from the Internet.

Url:http://www.hass-im-netz.info
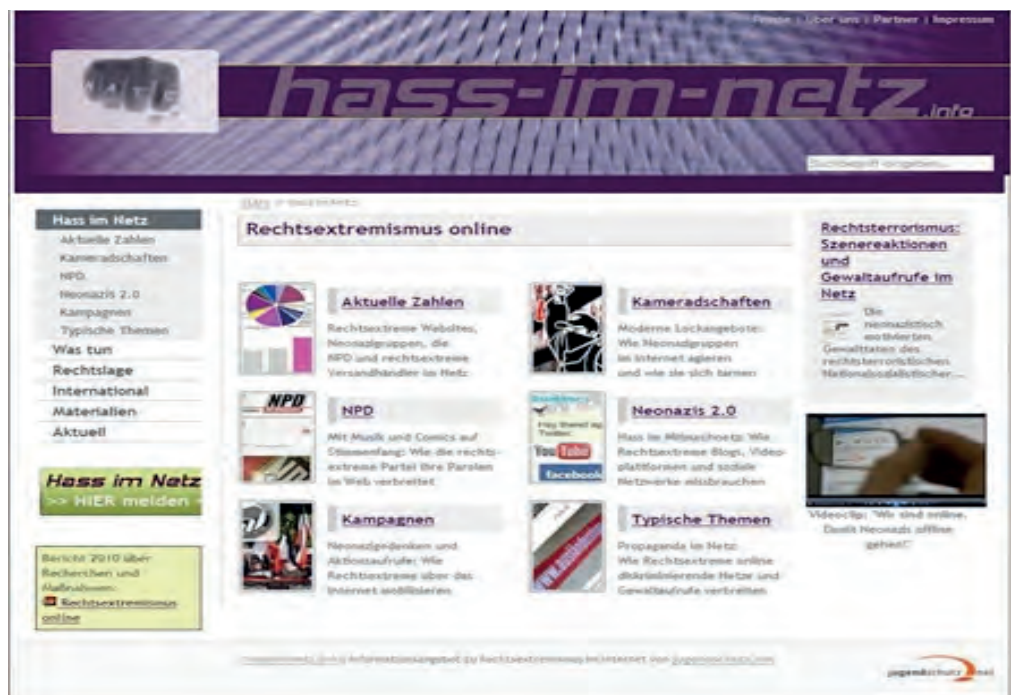
Description: It looks for hate contents and gives information about how to deal with hate-speech for young people and professionals working with youth. It also makes efforts to identify these sites and resources and does the necessary legal steps to have them deleted through host service providers and operators of social networks, video platforms. For according to German laws, once they have become aware that a user distributes hate content through their service, they must immediately delete it from the Internet. If they cannot achieve this, they officially contact the Commission for Youth (KJM) for further measures against the service provider.

Methods: The site is the stronghold of a continuous campaign against hate content on the Internet in Germany with a clear focus on young people. This is a professional site. It collects and analyses all websites and tendencies in connection to extremism in Germany. It also prepares the readers (professional or young people) in how to handle hate content and what to do when meeting it. It explains the legal background in Germany and also the measure that have been done to prevent and obstruct cyber hate content. It provides trainings, reports and educational material on hate content for young people. It publishes news in relation to fight against hate content on the Internet in Germany. There is a form where one can report any hate content on the Internet so that the institutions behind hass-im-netz can realize further measures to have them deleted.

Technical background:

Website	Forum	Comments	Blog	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	PageRank	Links	Search	Alexa
HTML	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	NA	67	32	24283483

* keyword: hass im internet

Results: The following paragraphs are from the 2010 annual report.

The right-wing extremist scene is consistently trying to strengthen its presence online. Although the number of so-called neo-Nazi providers dropped from 13 to 10, already 16% (2009: 13%) of right-wing extremist website operators have used these services of likeminded supporters. The US based

blog hosting service logr.org becomes more and more popular: jugendschutz.net documented 157 blogs from the right-wing extremist scene (2009: 103). Right-wing extremists mainly used German services to post their content online: 65% (2009: 68%) fell back on host providers, redirectors or other service providers in Germany. 82% of the content disseminated from abroad, came via US servers (2009: 80%). As in 2009, 6% originated in the Netherlands, 3% in Austria and 3% in Switzerland.

In 2010, jugendschutz.net recorded a slight decline in illegal content: 15% (2009: 18%) of all websites assessed contained offences. jugendschutz.net documented 333 cases of right-wing extremist illegal and harmful content (2009: 413). Most of the illegal content was hosted on servers abroad (68%; 2009: 70%). Whereas only one in twelve right-wing extremist websites in Germany contained offences, this applied to one in three websites hosted abroad. In 2009, 81% of all illegal content was disseminated via US servers; dropping to 59% and moving to British (11%; 2009: 4%) and Russian servers (8%; 2998: 3%) in 2010. Contrary to last year's trend, the number of absolutely illegal content (i.e. punishable under criminal law) has decreased making up 79% of all offences (2009: 92%; 2008: 77%). Here, mainly symbols of unconstitutional organizations (64%; 2009: 72%) and inciting statements (30%; 2009: 25%) were disseminated. The decline is closely connected to shutting down most neo-Nazi communities responsible for the increase in illegal content in 2009.

Jugendschutz.net worked to remove illegal content from the Internet and therefore contacts providers and platform operators in Germany and abroad, forwards cases to the Commission for the Protection of Minors on the Internet (KJM) as the competent supervisory body or calls in partners of the International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH). Whenever these actions do not result in the removal of illegal content hosted abroad, jugendschutz.net initiates indexing by the Federal Department for Media Harmful to Young Persons (BPjM). As a consequence, German search engines then do not present this content in their result lists. In 2010, jugendschutz.net assessed around 3,500 videos with right-wing extremist content and notified platform operators about 600 illegal films (2009: 1,300). They reacted immediately and removed the content or blocked access to it from German servers. However, one problem remained: research revealed that right-wing extremists often misused the comment function on the websites to offend others or to post hate slogans; this was the case, e.g., on YouTube. Basically, the operators only removed illegal films jugendschutz.net notified them about, but not inciting comments.

The rapid development of social networking websites, video communities and blogs has changed the way right-wing extremists present themselves on the Internet. In these services large parts of the right-wing extremist scene try to win over young persons with attractive contact and leisure activities. Specifically the organized neo-Nazi scene uses Web 2.0 services for their propaganda and focuses on YouTube, Facebook and Twitter. The predominance of the "participatory Web" and the vast amount of user generated postings show that right-wing extremists increasingly move their activities to Web 2.0 services. The number of right-wing extremist contributions like videos, profiles, comments or other postings will even increase in the future. In order to combat right-wing extremism on the Internet as effectively as possible, operators have to enforce their community rules. They have to monitor their platforms to see if the rules are respected, and they have to develop technical solutions to prevent the same or similar content from being uploaded again and again. Communities abroad also must firmly take action against hate online. Furthermore, the presence of right-wing extremists on general communication and multimedia platforms needs a strong Net community; the members of the community are challenged to tell neo-Nazis where the limit is and to make it very clear that there is no room for hate and discrimination on the Internet.

YouTube video about hate content online:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yU-yp_WZ3S8

Strengths: It is a very professional site with a very effective campaign in the background. It is a systematic long term work to combat hate content on the net for the sake of preventing young people from being abused and brainwashed. It has a section on "what to do", which provides

information and materials for young users, for professionals working with young people and for service providers on the Internet. In the complaint section any illegal content can be reported.

Weaknesses: It is not interactive. It is not campaigning in virtual youth domains, social networks, chatrooms, and popular youth sites. It is not very youth friendly. The site is complicated and the design is boring.

Other interesting sites in Europe:

French network against extremism: http://www.licra.org/fr/jeunes

Campaign site against hate against homosexuals in Poland: http://www.kph.org.pl

Multilingual European tolerance test for young people: http://tolerancetest.eu

Spanish website for Christian gays and against hate of LGBT people: http://www.cristianosgays.com/

Italian website against discrimination: http://www.osservazione.org

A campaign film by young people on YouTube against homophobia:http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eTdCa6vbvTk&noredirect=1

Recommendations for the project Young People Combating Hate Speech Online

(Online Human Rights Defenders)

Having been studying the Internet in this respect, it is clear that there are many space and an urge need for further action against cyberhate. There is no doubt that once youth become actively involved in hate sites, they will be exposed to value sets and ideologies that at their very core are offensive, reprehensible, and horrific. Youth looking for a group to identify with will find a community of likeminded thinkers who endorse and encourage such values and who often make practicing them seem like the moral and culturally sound thing to do. The research that has been conducted and the evidence that has been generated throughout this study have successfully answered the research question: the threat posed to youth by online hate sites is both significant and real. The calibre of hate that exists on these sites is horrifying, and the rhetorical analysis suggests that recruitment efforts targeted at youth are often successful. (*Peter Weinberg, 2011*)

There are very little creativity invested so far and there is a very obvious need for urgent and strategic action. As concluded from the research studies there are no coherent international legal framework in the world, or in European countries. Hate speech on the Internet is and will be controlled to different degrees by different national authorities. However, the probability of success of national regulations is limited and the result of any regulatory efforts is inevitably influenced by the position of other participants. At present, the international solution, though much desirable, is highly improbable due to differing views on the nature of free speech and freedom from censorship. The option left to every country is to educate the public, to teach tolerance to and acceptance of diverse values. After all, racist speech is a mere symptom of racism. (*Yulia A. Timofeeva, 2003*)

We have to keep in mind that – as above in *Timofeveeva*'s study – racist speech itself cannot be the target and it cannot only concentrate on the Internet, for hate speech is the result of the malignant attitude of people. So it is the malignant attitude which we can aim to prevent young people from, and support all efforts to change those, who feed this hatred throughout Europe, or even invest into understanding what leads these people to develop that attitude and fight against the reasons rather than the symptoms.

Thus the best solution at the moment is to run different campaigns and projects that, on one hand prevent and prepare young people from and for online hate content and support minority youth groups to run positive affirmative campaigns to change stereotypes and malignant misconcepts.

As for the obstructive campaigns, it has to be said that they can be dangerous for there is no ultimate solution for an absolute ban of the hate content on the Internet. Partly because there are different legal measures in the different countries and internet content can easily travel from one server to another be it even in another country, or continent. On the other hand straightforward obstruction can be counterproductive for it can motivate those who feed hate content to be even more aggressive and insistent in sharing those ideas referring to the right to freedom of speech. It can also be dangerous for young people or youth organisations to get in conflicts with unstable

personalities be it virtual or real. So institutionally they can only be put into such a risky context if they are provided the maximum protection and safe anonymity. We should leave this part of the fight to the governments and legal or political organisations.

Ten years into the digital media revolution, our initial ways of educating young people about digital media literacy seem ineffectual at best, and misleading at worst. A popular response is "hate filters," software programs designed to "filter" hate sites encountered through search engines. These filters are woefully inadequate at addressing anything but the most overt forms of hate speech online, and even when they work as intended, they disable the critical thinking that is central to what is needed in our approach to digital media literacy. The direction that digital media literacy needs to take is promoting the ability to read text closely and carefully, as well as developing skills necessary to "read" critically the visual imagery and graphic design. Important in this effort is for young people to become content creators actively engaged in creating their own digital media, which helps demystify the medium in significant ways. And, introducing young people to the regular use of a range of free, online tools for Web analysis is important as well. (Who is registry www.internic.net/whois.html, www.alexa.com web trafficking service, the free software www.touchgraph.com uses a Java applet to display visually the relationship between links leading to and from a site etc.) (*Jessie Daniels, 2008*)

Based on the overview of the above online campaigns, the following desirable features are recommended to be taken into consideration for the online anti-hate-speech campaign designers and organisers.

Type: There is a big lack of real online campaigns against online hate content on the Internet by and for young people. As mentioned already the safest side of online campaigning is awareness raising among the widest public and affirmative campaigns for groups of young people who are at the risk of being targets of discriminative hate. As for obstructive campaigns one has to be aware of the exact legal status of hate-speech in the country or countries where the campaign is taking place. A proper institutional and organisational protection must be provided for the young people who are organising the obstructive campaign including legal service, administrative arrangements and safety measures. It is also possible to combine the three types of campaigning, but that clearly implies more preparation, more organisational support and more financial contribution.

Language: The campaign should use the local language(s) for communication; however it would be wise to have all campaigns having an English version so that at the end campaign results can be easily compiled. International campaigns in Europe should be either multilingual or English. The voice and language style should be as close to the actual target generation as possible reaching most of the young people possible.

Target groups and focus: After studying several sites and campaigns for young people it is clear that campaigns should specify the youth groups as much as possible. Just like in professional youth work, there is no such a target group like young people. The specific age group has to be defined. There is a great difference in style, language, message and content with regards to early teenagers (12-16), late teenagers (16-20) or young adults (above 20). Furthermore there are different methods and approaches to highly virtual literate youngsters and moderate Internet users, not to mention the different approach to different subcultures of young people.

Scope: Hate-speech is not a local phenomenon, it is a global problem and it affects all human beings. It is an accompaniment, a symptom of a simplified human attitude. Due to the Internet it cannot be solved only locally, or nationally, but at the same time it has to be addressed locally as well as nationally. The scope of the campaign can be local, especially if the type of hate content which a campaign opposed to is local (a local hate group against the local gypsies for example). It can also be national to move legislation in order to criminalize hate speech or challenge a specific discrimination attitude. It can also be European to support the cooperation among EU or CoE member states in order to decrease hate content on the Internet. It can also be global for example

to raise awareness of young people and educate them how to encounter hate speech and what to do with it. However it would be very wise to keep the scope of the campaigns as specific as possible for the sake of concrete, tangible results.

Campaign space: There are online, offline and mixed campaigns. In practice it is difficult to define a campaign purely online or offline. Most campaigns are mixed, offline campaigns are using the internet to support the activities, and online campaigns do have offline events. The Internet became part of the reality. We call it virtual space but experts, marketing specialists all say that we handle virtual space just like real life in order to be successful. The campaign organisers must keep it in mind.

Theme: Among the researched campaigns we saw themes like: safety for young surfers, equal opportunities, anti-extremism, anti-fascism, anti-homophobia, equal opportunities, roma empowerment, changing stereotypes, anti-hate-speech… etc. The themes can be very different and it is clear that purely fighting against hate speech as such does not exist; it has to be more specific and broader at the same time. Hate-speech is a symptom, not a cause; the campaigns are aiming at fighting the cause rather than the accompaniment. Naturally a fight against online discrimination, or fight against anti-Semitism on the internet will be obviously a fight against hate speech at the same time. However the campaigns should be based on themes around hate-speech, for it is the manifestation of hate on the Internet, the words that we read and we hear.

Implementer: The campaigns can be implemented by many actors. In the above cases we saw 2 governmental institutions and 8 non-governmental organisations taking the lead. Only one of them was initiated by young people. Four of them involved young people into the implementation in different ways. It is not because young people are not concerned by this topic. There are two reasons that can be responsible for this phenomenon. Partly fighting hate-speech online requires a lot of knowledge and preparation. As we see for example the German hass-im-netz initiative it is a very complex work with a lot professional work in the background. On the other hand the Internet is a free space young people navigate usually to places they like, places they got used to. So those people, who are so to say socially active, would not visit sites where hate content can be found for they are not interested. In terms of issues young people are concerned with supposedly hate content does not have a high priority. It surely does not mean that the risk of facing hate content is not realistic.

Aims: Out of the 10 initiatives two campaigns (All-out, IslamIspeace) had very clear aims and messages, and in light of campaign management these two can be considered good practices of how to campaign online, however they also have lots of space for development. Setting realistic campaign objectives in relation to hate speech campaigns is especially crucial. Clearly defined goals will give you an idea for what you want, and the tools and services that you need to reach those goals will fall into place. When entering into the planning phase it is important to know that the process may not be easy. There will be some trial and error, and results are not overnight. You're going to need to put in work for at least several months before you can start seeing quantifiable results. The most difficult part of jumping into social media is finding programs that fit your objectives and which are effective in generating community around your campaign. Fortunately, there is copious amount of examples and real-world case studies that detail potential social media programs that you can tailor to your specific needs. For example look at the Official 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence Campaign on Facebook. http://www.facebook.com/16DaysCampaign

Keep in mind that SMART objectives go for campaign planning as well. Objectives should be Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Timed well.

Strategy elements: There is clearly a global aim regarding cyberhate, and this is to decrease and possibly spirit off hate content from the Internet, in a way that freedom of expression remains one of its fundamental values. The United Nations Department of Public Information organised a seminar in 2009 with the title "Cyberhate: Danger in Cyberspace". The Secretary-General opened this event and said that "*While the Internet had brought enormous good and transformed the way we live and work, there were also a few dark alleys along the information superhighway. There are those who*

use information technology to reinforce stereotypes, to spread misinformation and to propagate hate." He stressed the impact that cyberhate and electronic harassment can have on young people and called on parents, the Internet industry and policymakers, among others, to help stop hate speech and bullying on the Internet and through other forms of modern technology. All campaigns should be in line with this long term vision. In the European context you have to understand what is going on in the Council of Europe as well as in the European Union. Your campaign strategy should be in line with the global and European strategy.

Role of young people: Young people can play many roles in the campaigns. They can initiate, plan, design, implement and evaluate the campaigns. There is big need for their involvement. According to surveys children start using Internet around the age of 6 in general. In the EU broadbent Internet penetration of youngsters is around 60%, 23% in Malta and 83% in Finland. Children Internet usage is growing rapidly, most notably children between 6-10, and 60% of them were already online in 2008. The tendencies are the same in most CoE countries. So when we talk about the role of young people in these campaigns, we must say they are the only ones who can do something against hate-speech on the Internet in the long term. Not only are they the most accessed to Internet, but they are the most competent as well.

Expected results: There are many types of results that can be expected from the campaigns. It can be that a certain number of young people are informed about the necessity of fighting against cyberhate, or a number hate sites are found and deleted, or a number of young people learn how to handle cyberhate in chatrooms and forums even if they are the targets for certain reasons, or it is gathering lobby forces to change legislation, or it challenges stereotypes which can be the bases of malignant attitude etc. It is important that the expected results should also be realistic in relation to the campaign.

Essential features: Looking at the features of the campaigns, a successful campaign involves all possible tools of the Internet. There should be one common campaign portal or some key websites where all the campaigns can be followed. Each campaign should have its character, however in line with a common character. The online campaigns cannot be effective without the use of social media, blogs, video sharing portals and email campaigns.

- Networking gives a very solid and supportive foundation for a campaign, so keep yourself in multiple partnerships, just like all the studied initiatives above.

- The Safer Internet Day campaign could be a stronghold of making the Internet free of hate-speech. www.saferinternet.org

- National and European institutions working in the field of equal opportunities. Anti-discrimination can be involved in the campaigns, and can help in raising funds as well. They also have good resources of information on legal aspects. Look for partners like www.diversite.be, www.jugendschutz.net, or www.inach.net

- Offline events and offline educational material can support the online campaign very well. Make all materials online or offline specifically user-friendly for the targeted group of young people. In all elements of the campaign, involve as many young people as possible and adequate to make the project a good participation scheme for young people. Like in http://www.jugendschutz.net/materialien/klickts.html

- In terms of online campaign websites look at www.islamispeace.or.uk and www.allout.org for seeing a good design and structure. The webpage is well designed and easy to understand and navigate. There is no flood of information; the information is well selected and prepared, only the main messages are presented. Connect your website to your Facebook and Twitter profile, where you constantly blog and share.

- Involve real people, with real stories, be honest and straight. For an example look at www.youngjewishproud.org

– Work in partnership, be local as well as global, try to build regional networks like www.ergonetwork.org

– Be careful and remain on the ground of facts with hate sites, hate groups. To see an example of researching about hate crime and hate content seehttp://athenaintezet.hu/en/index/ or www.hass-im-netz.infohttp://www.athenea.hu/These sites are interesting examples of putting hate speech groups, and malignant attitude into a kind of negative light. With the help of the publicity of the Internet they are criminalized and measured against Human Rights and dignity. Fighting against hate content providers require a systematic and long term work. The content is deleted one day and moved to another server the next.

– For reporting, and complaints see www.inach.net

– If you gather information and results develop educational material build them in the flow of the campaign.

Technical considerations for online campaigns

Make a good campaign website! Avoid static presence, boring and complicated website structures. Be as much interactive and up-to-date as possible. Connect your website to social platforms and bloggers. Make it simple and youth-friendly, informative and exciting. If you do not know how to code in one of the programme languages (Java, Flash, Html…) ask for professional help or use any of the following free online web designer applications.

http://www.wix.com/

http://www.homestead.com/

http://www.moonfruit.com/

http://www.webpagedesign.com.au/2008/10/21/17-browser-based-free-online-website-creators/

Use blogging! Blogging is social media. One of the consistently high-performing mediums for attracting new leads to your web campaign is through quality blogging. A few blog posts each month that provide well written, easy-to-follow information that is useful to your target group can help bring targeted, pre-qualified partners right to your website, and help establish you as an expert. The more often you blog, the higher the chance that Google will return to your site and rank you higher in their search results. When tied into your social media platforms like Facebook or Twitter, you will be able to share your blog posts to a wide and varied audience.

Use videos smartly! Online video viewership continues to grow at an astonishing pace. Video testimonials and "Vlogs" are extremely effective ways to get your voice heard in a viral sense. These videos can be shared through your social networks, blogs, and other mediums all bringing people back to you and your campaign. Keep the video to 60 seconds or less. If you want a campaign message or offer to be heard by a target audience it had better be delivered quickly. Online video viewership drops off dramatically after 60 seconds. A beautifully designed and produced online video that's more than a minute long will most likely not been seen in its entirety by the target audience so the key message may not be received. Make it clear to the viewer in the first few seconds why they should watch your video. Immediately spell out "What's in it for them". Online videos are a great way to engage potential partners but the key to their effectiveness is to provide immediate value to the viewer. Starting a video by delivering the bottom-line message at the beginning greatly increases conversions. In the right creative hands, producing innovative, compelling and effective online campaign videos can be done at a low cost by using your own existing assets. You do not need to be professional for making a video add, but avoid boring and mis-understandable videos. Many people naturally assume the process of producing a high quality online video requires an onsite film crew and elaborate production (and the associated costs). That's simply not the case. Just look around your organisation, your home and you will find all you need for a great video shoot. You can use an iPhone or an inexpensive flip camera to create your own viral-friendly videos that provide value to people in the net. You can use free video editors that you can download from the Internet. For example VideoPad Editor: http://download.cnet.com/VideoPad-Video-Editor/3000-13631_4-10906278.html

Localize your target group online! Find out where your potential target people are going to find the services and ideas that you offer. Once you find out where your "clients" are searching, make sure that your campaign is highly promoted in those areas.

Engage young people online! Online activities, games, contests, giveaways and rewards are great ways to engage interest in your youth campaign. Think of the needs of young people in the specific age you're working with. Campaign can engage through social networks. Figure out a plan that gets your campaign great exposure, while engaging your social networks. Not only do contests, build it in an organic sense. They also have the potential to go viral if interaction is required in order to take place in the contest. Referral rewards, and word-of-mouth promotions could easily be tied into a social networking campaign.

Put your plan into action! Now comes the exciting part, you get to engage in your social network! Most people are fairly enthusiastic about this phase. Campaign organisers are action people so now that they've got their goals defined and their plan in place, they are ready to begin "doing". This is a great attitude; however, these same people tend to lose their interest when they aren't seeing the results that they expected. Again, it takes consistent effort and work to participate and engage in a social network. It can take even five-six months of hard work, constant participation and trial and error before you start to see results of your labour. If your target group is very competitive, you may even need more time before you start bringing young people on board of your campaign. In order for you to have success with your efforts, you must tie your social media programs in with as many applicable parts of your campaign as possible.

Details are very important! Your email signature should invite people to connect with your campaign on LinkedIn, Facebook or follow you on Twitter. You should have a sticker on your campaign window that invites people to follow you on Twitter or become a fan on Facebook. You should be engaging offline as well, ask young people if they use social networks, and invite them to connect with you. Tell them that you give them useful information, tips, and share valuable ideas. Create a social media policy for your campaign that creates guidelines for your volunteers that encourages social media use but regulates it so that it is still appropriate to the campaign. Tie your social media campaign in with your offline campaign events. There are hundreds of details that are involved with successfully executing an online campaign. In order to successfully traverse it, be aware that you might need help, and never be afraid to Google for some answers or ideas. Read and use marketing hints, business sector is well ahead in this respect.

Tracking the success of your social media efforts. In order for you to track the results of your social media efforts you need to have the right tools in place. There are many ways of tracking inbound leads, and opportunities, however, the simplest way to find out is to simply ask your users. When engaging with a user, ask them how they found out about you. Chances are many customers will reference some traditional medium or referral method. However, with consistent effort in your online campaigns, diligent involvement and tracking, you may see that people will begin these social media programs.

Social media isn't automatic! There is no magic about social media. It's simply a different marketing approach. Many campaigns believe that putting a campaign profile on Facebook is enough for involving social media in the campaign. It is not enough, actually it means almost nothing. You must create activity around your profile. Create quiz, questionnaire, funny games to make your campaign live on the social network. Many of the common sense rules of campaigning still apply and are in fact instrumental in maintaining a good reputation online. Social networks can be a double edged sword for many campaigns. Sure you can generate lots of leads and get plenty of followers, but if your following systems are not always up to date and interesting, or just put there as a haunted profile you're likely to get some negative attention through those same social networks. Never forget, that social media is not about you, it is about what you can do for someone else.

Be cautious with email campaigns! Trying to embed a video into an outgoing email message presents multiple technical and deliverability challenges. The best method for including video in an

email campaign is to simply embed a linked thumbnail image of the video that is shared on YouTube for example. Once the play button is clicked a browser window can be automatically launched to display the video on a video marketing landing page. Do not put thousands of kilobytes into an email. The proliferation of smart phones has made mobile video delivery more important than ever. Be sure all video based email campaign initiatives can be delivered in both Flash and HTML5 formats. Videos delivered in only Flash format will not be viewable from iPads and iPhones. Like most online campaigns, the analytics gathered from video viewership can be of tremendous strategic value to your strategy. Being able to measure important metrics (video views, time viewed/duration, traffic sources) helps you understand when a video is effectively reaching its target audience… and when it's not.

Why should I click here? This is probably the single most important and overlooked question any organization can ask itself when creating an online campaign strategy. What message are you trying to convey? Your online campaign elements must be able to quickly encourage the user to step in whatever it is that you want to give.

A call to action. Okay, you showed your campaign, highlighted the logo and developed a clear message. Now what? A great banner or well-designed web site is not enough to take the user from an observer to an activist. You need to close your initial online ad presentation with a call to action in a way that is concrete and interesting.

Tears, cheers and fears. Don't underestimate the power of emotional impulse. Drive your message toward emotion, use real situations of hate speech, shocking or embracing it should bring emotional extra for the users. Make sure, that the real examples you are using do not hurt anyone.

Be relevant! Campaign ads are most effective when the action or service you are advertising online has some correlation to the content of the site users are viewing.

What you don't say can say a lot. When you see a commercial with no sound, you stop to make sure the TV is working. It moves from the realm of background noise to the centre of attention, making a lasting impression. Breaking the mould isn't easy, however. It takes a creative, smart and engaging approach to capture the interest of an audience. You can determine whether your campaign is among the greats by closely monitoring the buzz, then being prepared to quickly shift to another approach if the feedback is negative.

Banners should be eye-catching! Look at the evolution of banner ads as they've gone from static images to animated images to interactive flash. Now we have video and expandable banners. A study by ZD Net found animated ads generate click-through rates 15-40 per cent higher than static ads. The same commercial with the same message simply loses its effectiveness over time.

Optimize search engine! The latest wonder of the Internet. You also need to make sure your online campaign can be easily found on the Internet. This means thinking about the key search terms that relate to your campaign and promoting them in articles and blog posts. If you post campaign material on other forums or blogs, make sure they have links back to your website as this is not only good for offering people more information, but links are also important for SEO. Download and read Google SEO Handbook for starters at the following link: http://static.googleusercontent.com/external_content/untrusted_dlcp/www.google.com/hu//webmasters/docs/search-engine-optimization-starter-guide.pdf

Recommendations for the online campaign

Online Youth Campaign to promote Human Rights in the Internet

version 1.0

Timing

As concluded in the Consultative Meeting (February 2012) the year 2012 should be seen as rather a preparatory year, while 2013 would be the peak of the campaign, moving towards the year more to a policy making dimension.

Background and focus

The hate content on the Internet is increasing. There are more and more sites, videos, online games, music that are promoting to hate or even act against a certain group of people for different human characteristics. There are no clear international legal obstacles for this phenomenon, thus it can be done openly without any consequence. It is also clear that there is a very thin line between banning virtual hate-speech and limiting freedom of speech. For this reason European young people are involved to do things online to make sure Human Rights of all people are respected and to make efforts to prevent young people from the harm online hate-content can do.

The campaign shall be by young people, for young people.

Survey

In order to have a more precise picture about what young people think about online hate-speech the campaign should be supported by a survey. The survey should take place at the beginning of the campaign, preferably completed by autumn this year. The sample should be around 1000 young people representative to the Council of Europe member states.

The objectives of the survey:

– to understand tendencies about the opinion of European young people on hate-speech online

– to bring the attention of young people and youth policy stake-holders to the issue

– to understand the different opinions in relation to the issue

Some questions to be answered by the young people who are interested in the topic.

Who is causing the problem?
Why is it a problem and why is it significant?
What can young people do about the problem?
How many people does it affect?
How frequently does it occur?

How do young people feel about the issue, and what do they believe?

What is the social and the economic impacts and costs of the issue?

What are the benefits of reducing the problem?

What is pushing the issue to change?

What are the barriers to addressing this issue?

What forces might exist in the political scene? What can we do with them?

Questions about the campaign features and elements could be part of the survey as well.

Aims of the campaign

– The two main aims of the campaign are

– to create a community of young people motivated to discuss and act against hate speech online;

– to put the issue of hate speech on the agenda of youth organisations and wider public,

Short, medium and long term goals of the campaign

The indicators should be subject to discussions based on institutional expectations and the opinion of young people. The survey could also give more information for finalizing the indicators and making them measurable and achievable.

Short term goals in numbers (in an 18 month perspective)

– To involve **60** young activist that will do the core of the planning and implementation,

– To involve another **240** young people to be active in the process, and support the 60,

– To build a web community of **300** young activists,

– To involve **300** youth organisations across Europe to take part in the campaign,

– To collect **30** best practices of reducing online hate-speech and promotion of Human Rights online,

– To build cooperation with **100** national and European politicians who share the goals of the campaign,

Medium term goals in numbers (in a 3 year perspective)

– To reach **50.000** young people in Europe with information about the serious social harm of hate online ,

– To make **5.000** young people competent multipliers of dealing with online hate content and promoting Human Rights online,

– To initiate **50** political manifestos (petition, recommendation, law...etc.) on national and European level,

– To build a web community of **5.000** people across Europe,

Long term goals (in 5 year perspective)

– To decrease available hate content on the Internet by **25 %** with special focus to European countries,

– To spread information about the social harm of online hate to **2 million** people across Europe,

– To bring online hate on the political agenda of **15** European countries, especially where hate-speech is not criminalised,

Campaign message and slogan

– The message should have a European dimension that would provide the umbrella under which specific national campaigns should be more focused,

– It should be motivating for young people to act for defending Human Rights online,

– Young people, especially the online activists, should be involved in formulating the campaign message.

Examples of possible key messages:

– *Young people can do a lot to decrease the social harm of hate-speech on the Internet.*

– *Young people are important actors of shaping the Internet by promoting Human Rights online.*

– *Young people are prepared to prevent the Internet from becoming a platform of spreading hate.*

Examples of possible slogan/motto:

– Hate shall not rule the Net!

– Kick hate off the Net!

– For a friendly Net for all!

– Inclusion and Internet

– For a human Internet!

– Youth.Europe.Internet

Partners and stakeholders

The most important cooperating partners who should be involved with the implementation.

Non-governmental organisations

– European youth organisations (for example: UMR, Save the Children, EWC, UNITED, YHRM)

– National youth councils

– National and local youth organisations that are interested in the matter

– Organisations that are working against hate-speech, hate-crime and intolerance

– European Digital Media Association (http://www.europeandigitalmedia.org/)

– Association of European Journalists (http://www.aej.org/)

– Youth4Media European Network (http://www.youth4media.eu/)

– Youthpress (http://www.youthpress.org/)

– INACH

European institutions

– Council of Europe (its different units, directorates that are relevant for the issue)

– Partnership of the Council of Europe and the European Commission

– European Commission

Governments

- Belgium, French Speaking Community has already expressed its interest in supporting the campaign
- Other potential governments are expected to join

Decision makers

- National governments
- European and national politicians personally (political advocates)
- Leaders of European institutions personally (institutional advocates)

Persuaders

- Famous people (actors, artists, media stars)
- Other relevant lobby organisations
- Companies in the framework of social corporate responsibility
- Internet providers and domains (for example .eu domain http://www.eurid.eu/)

Public supporters

- People who sign in or sign up online or on paper
- Anyone who is interested

Campaign Strategy

The campaign is by young people and for young people with potential social impacts to the wider public of European citizens. The strengths of the pro-active strategy is not to focus on reacting to online arguments started by "hate groups", but rather put forward arguments and statements. It means that the campaign is positive and promotes values and ideas that are based on Human Rights. The campaign is for a more tolerant Internet, rather than against hate, however there might be elements when the counter arguments will have to take the floor. It is also clear that the campaign will have limited resources and potentials in going into political and legal areas such as penalisation, criminalisation or any ways of regulation debates. At the same time the campaign should be clear about the harm and danger of hate-speech (online or offline).

For the sake of constructive synergies with other events, campaigns and projects in Europe it is planned that other ongoing events in Europe with which the campaign can be connected will be constantly monitored. Especially in the fields of electronic media, culture, youth and education. There will be a special monitoring group that will monitor other events and design and implement connections and synergies.

It is recommended that relevant materials that have already been elaborated at international, national and local level are collected before the start of the campaign. For the national campaigns and their organisations, it is suggested to seek cooperation with governments and have a look at the experience of the national committees in the "All different, all equal" campaign.

The tone of the campaign should be very youth-friendly in its appearance, its message, its methods and its language following online trends that young people are faced with. Modern applications with the relevant amount of humour, fun and serious content.

Campaign channels:

- Internet
- Word of mouth

- Activities (conferences, trainings, seminars, meetings, flash-mobs, festivals)
- Radio, television, newspapers

Campaign elements

The Campaign Hub

There should be a central hub online to gather all information and experiences of national campaigns also to feature a European campaign and to support networking and linking between different initiatives. This online place should be the central focus of all activity. This is an interactive, informative and easy-to-handle web portal. The central portal will be connected to Twitter blogs, Facebook community, Youtube with campaign videos and reports.

The Campaign Face

The campaign should be youth friendly, provocative as well as politically correct (a good balance) with a clear and coherent image, logo and appearance that are traceable in all elements of the campaign. All activities, online and offline, European and national will have to follow this profile of appearance. It should be designed by young designers.

The Good Practice

One of the most important elements of the campaign is the collection of good practices on how to combat hate-speech online. It would be developing throughout the campaign. It will include methods, ideas, activities that can be used in different virtual situations. For example a copy/paste handbook on how to answer common statements used by racist groups and also provide young activists with necessary arguments.

The Activists

There will be 60 online activists (30+30) who will be the most active agents of the campaign. They will be trained by the CoE in two sets, one in 2012 and one in 2013. They will be part of the campaign in the planning and implementation. Their roles in the campaign should be developed during their training programme. They will be involved in the survey and the collection of good practice.

The European Campaign Committee

There will be a central committee that will be responsible for the steering of the whole campaign. The members of the committee shall represent all stakeholders involved in the campaign.

The National Campaign Committee

In orders to go beyond international and language obstacles, there will be national campaign committees in the countries which join the campaign. The national campaign committees will make sure that the national activities and projects are in line with the European campaign and that the results and impacts are fed back to the European level as well.

Financial support for campaign activities, micro projects

The European institutions, especially the Council of Europe, depending on its financial possibilities could make some funds available to support national campaign elements. The governments who join the campaign could also do the same, and besides establishing the National Committee they could provide it with financial means for the national campaign.

Online support

There should be closed forums for feed-back to support the young activists to build up their knowledge, develop their arguments and discuss their experiences. An e-learning platform should support the online activists.

Corporate Social Responsibility Programme

There should be a specific programme for companies that are working in the online area in which they could cooperate with and contribute to the campaign by giving professional support, contributions in kind or financial support to certain elements of the campaign.

The Interactive Elements

There will be several interactive elements that will be able to involve young individuals to take part in the campaign. There will be quiz on the issue, online games about protecting Human Rights, call for different productions and actions (video films, stories, games...). Young people will be invited to take part in creative competitions and answering questionnaires and making action.
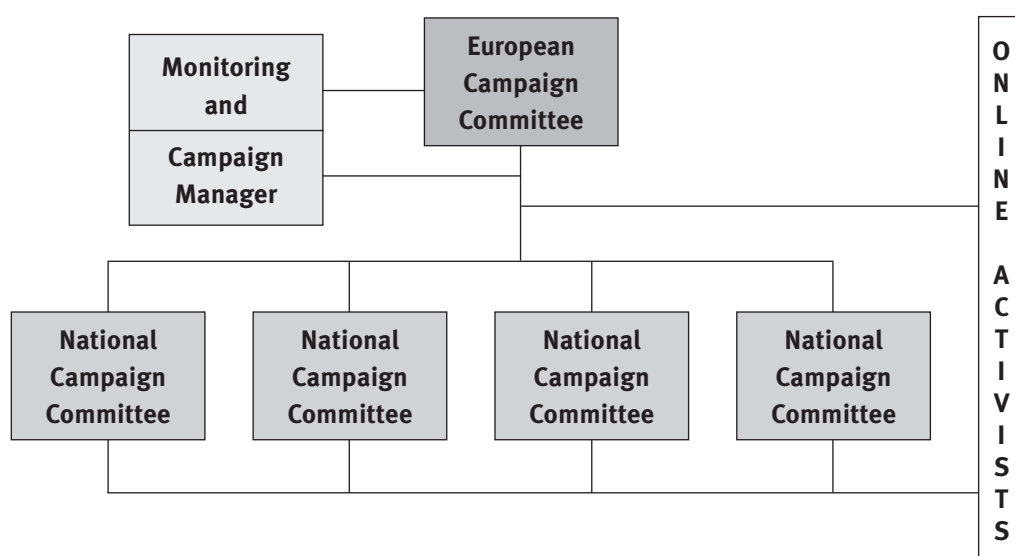
Campaign Structure

The European Campaign Committee will be responsible for the overall management of the campaign, including planning, cooperation, financial resources and evaluation. It should comprise of representatives of all stakeholders (Advisory Council, CDEJ, other partners).

The Monitoring and Support Group will receive the mandate form the Campaign Committee and will be responsible for following all the procedures and feed back to the Committee when necessary. It will also monitor other European events for synergies. It will observe the process, the results and outcomes. It should comprise of a small number of experts, representatives nominated by the Committee. It s a more technical and supportive body to the management of the campaign.

The Campaign Manger will be the person who is fully occupied by the management, the administration of the Campaign. This person should manage the everyday work. The Council of Europe will see the possibility of employing one or more temporary experts for the period of the Campaign.

The National Campaign Committees will be founded by the governments that will join the campaign and these bodies will be responsible for keeping contact with the European campaign structure and will design and implement the national campaign projects.

The Online Activists are 30+30 individual young persons, who will be trained by the Council of Europe to run the online elements of the European campaign. Some of them may be connected to youth organisations as well. They will all be connected to the national campaign projects where relevant.

Timeline

The organisational plan of the preparatory work of the campaign in 2012.

	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February
Management and decision making	Setting up the European Campaign Committee	Setting up Monitoring and Support Group	1st ECC meet.; Accepting the Campaign Plan	1st Monitoring Group meeting	Campaign Committee Meeting	2nd ECC meet.	Setting up national campaign committees		
Administration and organisation	Employing the necessary staff	Setting up working structure	Setting up working structure	Developing online content, collection of good practice	Developing online content, collection of good practice	Developing online content, collection of good practice	Developing online content, collection of good practice		
Technology and Production	Designing the campaign images	Designing the campaign portal	Designing the campaign portal	Testing campaign portal	Testing campaign portal	Testing campaign portal	Completing campaign portal		
Communication		Call for national participation to governments	Call for campaign videos and interactive elements	Call for national campaign projects	Call for corporate social responsibility projects			Start of online marketing	
Open events (online, offline)								Launch of the campaign	
Research, feed-back, monitoring	Survey among young people	Survey among young people	Survey among young people	Survey among young people	Concluding the survey				

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Young People Combating Hate Speech Online is a project of the Council of Europe's youth sector running between 2012 and 2014. The project aims to combat racism and discrimination in their online expression of hate speech by equipping young people and youth organisations with the competences necessary to recognize and act against such human rights violations. Central to the project is a European youth media campaign which will be designed and implemented with the agency of young people and youth organisations. As a preparation for the project, the Council of Europe's Youth Department commissioned three "mapping" studies about the realities of hate speech and young people and projects and campaigns about it. These studies are published here as a resource for the activists, youth leaders, researchers, partners and decision makers associated to the project and the online campaign. They are truly a starting points: more research is needed, both on the legal and policy implications of hate speech online as on its impact and relation with young people.

The Council of Europe has 47 member states, covering virtually the entire continent of Europe. It seeks to develop common democratic and legal principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other reference texts on the protection of individuals. Ever since it was founded in 1949, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the Council of Europe has symbolised reconciliation.

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